The Outlook

NOVEMBER 8, 1916

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The next issue of The Outlook will record and interpret the results of the Presidential election. Though the present issue bears the date of the day after election, it necessarily goes to press several days in advance of that date, in order that it may reach its readers in time, as must be the case with a journal of National circulation. On another page are recorded the more important events of the campaign up to the time when this issue went to press.

THE WEEK

THE STORY OF THE WAR: AGAIN AMERICANS ARE KILLED IN SUBMARINE WARFARE

While neither the German Government nor the American Government has up to this date (November 1) made an official statement as to the killing of American citizens on the steamship Marina, the public has before it the despatches of Mr. Frost, the American Consul at Queenstown, which report the statement of the survivors of the disaster, supported by their affidavits, and it also has before it the statement of the British shipping company which claims to be the owner of the Marina. These statements, of course, are subject to contradiction, but, as we write, they have not been contradicted. If true, they are both of the utmost importance, because they affirm as fact things which contradict the only defenses which can be put forward. Thus it may be said (but so far has not been said officially) that the Marina was not a merchant ship but a war transport, and therefore was subject to destruction without warning. But the agents for the Donaldson Line in America make this clear claim: "She is one of our regular steamers, and was owned and operated as a merchantman by the Donaldson Line. She carried general cargo and sometimes horses for the British Government, but had not been commandeered and still retained her status as a merchantman."

If it can be shown, or if it is admitted, that the Marina had been taken over by the British Admiralty, had been put under the command of naval officers, and was used in war operations—in other words, if the claim of her owners is false or they do not know the history of their own vessel—then the approval of international law may be invoked in behalf of the attack which resulted in the death of the captain and twelve other men, several of whom were Americans. Again, if the Marina was a merchant vessel carrying contraband of war, was summoned to stop, and by her actions in attempting to escape defied the summons and was then attacked, Germany would undoubtedly claim that she has not violated her promise to the United States as to her conduct of submarine warfare, however much that conduct may disagree with President Wilson's declaration in an official note that submarines were in their nature unsuited to act as commerce destroyers because of the imminent danger of their violating the laws of nations and of humanity. And it should be pointed out also that in this case the killing of American citizens takes that very question out of the realm of theory and makes it one of vital American importance. Moreover, the only evidence obtainable at this date directly asserts that the Marina was torpedoed without warning, and some survivors declare that the submarine watched the boats in which the survivors were trying to escape without offering any assistance. They say also that the sea was heavy and that the ship sank very quickly.

Another British vessel, the Rowanmore, with freight from Baltimore and with Americans in the crew, has been shelled and torpedoed by a German submarine, on the ground that it tried to escape. No lives

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were lost. It is alleged that her boats were fired at when they were in the water.

The only official utterance from German sources as to the Marina up to the time of writing is the remark of the German Ambassador in Washington, that if a submarine commander has violated instructions he will undoubtedly be punished. It will be remembered that in the case of the Sussex misconduct on the part of the German submarine captain was admitted and punishment was promised, but, although our State Department has asked to be told what the punishment was, it has received no reply. It is obvious, in view of the past action of German submarines, that something more than a formal or technical punishment is essential if American rights and American lives are to be protected.

It is perfectly proper for our Government to await complete information before taking action. Those Americans who believe that honor and peace have been compromised by the long, futile, word-splitting diplomatic correspondence which has followed other attacks on the lives and property of neutrals and non-combatants cannot be hopeful now of firm and immediate action, even if the facts require it.

THE NEW MILITARY SITUATION IN THE EAST

General von Mackensen's sweeping victory in that part of Rumania known as the Dobrudja was even more complete than we reported last week. A large part of the Rumanian forces, it is true, escaped across the Danube over the long bridge at Cernavoda (which they then, of course, destroyed), and others crossed the Danube by boats at the northern limit of the Dobrudja. But Mackensen's army undoubtedly captured large quantities of guns and munitions and many hundreds of prisoners, and cleared out the entire region along the Black Sea north to the Danube, which flows eastward between the Dobrudja and Bessarabia, a Russian province. Thus Mackensen has occupied the whole of the peninsula bounded by the Black Sea on the east and the Danube on the north and west. It is improbable that his forces will cross the Danube; rather he will strengthen his lines to the westward in the hope that the Rumanians, driven back by General von Falkenhayn's army in Transylvania, will in their retreat be caught between two enemies.

The latest reports, as we write, however, declare that the Rumanian forces in Transylvania have rallied wonderfully under the command of a French general, General Bertholet, who has taken charge of the situation. Despatches from the capital of Rumania, Bucharest, claim a brilliant victory on the Transylvanian frontier and the renewal of an aggressive offensive on the part of the Rumanians.

The Greek King is reported to have agreed to the demands of the Allies to transfer Greek forces in Thessaly and Epirus to southern Greece, and thus remove the latent threat against the operations of the Allied forces on the Salonika front. Indignation is expressed in London at the proposed removal of the Greek Minister to the United States owing to his sympathy with Venizelos, and also because of rumors that the Entente Allies are not supporting that movement and the temporary government which has been set up at Salonika by the Greek Committee of National Defense, which is insisting that the King shall obey the will of the people and cease to play into the hands of the Bulgarians who have invaded Greece.

No sensational news came during the week ending November 1 from the Somme or Verdun front. In both fields severe fighting continued, but there was no large territorial gain on either side. The same is true, although in less degree, on the Russian front. The Russians drove forward in Volhynia, the Teutons in Galicia; in each case claims of valuable gains after severe fighting were met by counter-claims of final repulse.

THE LEAGUE OF PEACE: VISCOUNT GREY AND VISCOUNT BRYCE

Concerning the position of neutral countries in the war and concerning Germany's responsibility for the war, Viscount Grey, British Foreign Minister, made an important speech on October 23 before the Foreign Press Association in London.

The speaker noted that both President Wilson and Mr. Hughes are supporting the League to Enforce Peace, a society formed in Independence Hall on Bunker Hill Day, June 17, 1915, with ex-President Taft as President. It proposes: (1) The submission of all justiciable questions to a judicial tribunal; (2) the submission of all other questions to a Council of Conciliation; (3) an agreement by the signatory Powers to use their economic and military forces against any one

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of their number that goes to war prior to such submission; (4) conferences between the signatory Powers to codify the rules of international law.

To such a work, affirmed Lord Grey, we should all look with favor and hope, and he aptly added:

Only we must bear this in mind—if the nations, after the war, are able to do something effective by combining themselves with the common object of preserving peace, they must be prepared to undertake not more than they are able to uphold by force, and to see, when a time of crisis comes, that it is upheld by force. The question we must ask then is, "Will you play up when the time comes?"

That is a very pertinent question to be addressed to the American people, who have done nothing in the present war to enforce the recognized rules of international law or the laws of civilized warfare. Commenting on Viscount Grey's speech, Viscount Bryce in a letter to the London "Times" asks:

Are the neutral nations prepared to undertake and fulfill the responsibilities which the formation, after the war and after the treaty of peace, of a permanent league of peace will impose upon each of those who had joined in this? The question is, of course, specially important as regards the greatest of the neutral nations, the nation from whose statesmen the suggestion of such a league . . . has now come. No one can venture at this moment to predict what the opinion or action of the people of the United States may be after the war is ended, for it is only then that the question can arise in a practical form; but I wish to point out the immense importance of the declarations made by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes as leaders of the two great American parties. Both have declared that America can no longer maintain her old policy of isolation. Both have described in clear and strong terms the interest the American people have in the prevention of war and the duty which lies upon it as a peace-loving people to do its utmost for securing the safety of the world in the future by a permanent combination for the restraint of aggression and the preservation of a general peace.

In the establishment of such a peace league as Lord Grey agrees with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes in desiring lies the best hope that some permanent good for the future may come out of the suffering and horrors of the present.

THE LEAGUE OF PEACE: VISCOUNT GREY AND HERR HARDEN

Maximilian Harden, editor of "Die Zukunft," is probably the most audacious and independent, as he is sometimes the most far-sighted, editorial writer in Germany. The current number of "Die Zukunft" (so we learn from a despatch from Berne, Switzerland, to the London "Morning Post," retelegraphed to the New York "Times") prints a long editorial written by Herr Harden apropos of Lord Grey's speech. The German editor inquires, as he has inquired on previous occasions, whether Germany would not gain rather than lose by changing her war policy and modifying her war aims.

Lord Grey had asserted that the war was not forced upon Germany, but was forced by Germany upon Europe. He also said:

In July, 1914, no one thought of attacking Germany. It is said that Russia was the first to mobilize. That, I understand, is what is represented in Germany as justification for the statement that the war was not an aggressive war on Germany's part, but was forced upon her. Russia never made the mobilization of which Germany has complained until after Germany refused a conference. . . . I should like nothing better than to see this statement that Russia's mobilization was an aggressive one and that other Powers had trafficked in the neutrality of Belgium . . . investigated before an independent, impartial tribunal.

Harden writes, as reported, in this fashion:

Listen! It is a statesman who speaks and not a conceited youngster. If we turn a deaf ear to or if we ridicule this offer, we shall soon hear that Germany's bad conscience has made us afraid to stand before a judge, that Germany's rapacity dreads lest a just judgment pull down the barriers. If blindness started the world conflagration and let loose the furies, the verdict of a tribunal should end the mad outburst. The guilt can be clearly proved as to the responsibility of ruling personages and not in any wish or desire of the people. . . . Let your manhood return from the bloody field to peace and let our Ministers deliberate first with the sages of their own people and then with the best representatives of their enemies of yesterday as to how the awful woe of nations can be alleviated and the deep wound on the breast of mankind be healed.

Herr Harden points to the Pope as an independent and impartial tribunal to whom Lord Grey might be willing to intrust the office of arbitrator. The American organizers of the League to Enforce Peace have made it very clear that they do not propose that America should interfere as arbitrator or mediator in the present conflict. If, however, the Allies and the Central Powers could agree, either now or hereafter, to submit to

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an impartial tribunal the question, Which of the Powers is responsible for bringing on the present conflict? all Americans would welcome such a step, not chiefly as a means of bringing the present war to an end, but as furnishing a hope that the nations have been brought by the present conflict to seek some method of preventing its recurrence in the future.

MR. HUGHES ON THE EMBARGO ON ARMS

As the Presidential campaign approached its end discussion, argument, criticism, and promises tended to become less general and more specific. This was the case the week before election day, notably on the Republican side. It was just a week before election day that Mr. Hughes took a definite stand for the maintenance of the right of the United States to ship arms.

It was at Columbus, Indiana, that a man in the audience, said to have come from Kentucky, asked the following question:

> In the event of your election, will you or will you not favor or oppose an embargo against the shipment of munitions from this country to Europe, or the passage of a war resolution warning Americans not to travel in ships owned by nations at war?

"I, sir," Mr. Hughes instantly replied, after seeing that the questioner was permitted by the crowd to remain undisturbed, "am in favor of the maintenance of every right, including the right of travel and right of shipment. It is a very important right that we have as a neutral nation, and it is very important that at this time, when the great war is raging, we should vindicate neutral rights and maintain the integrity of international law. . . .

"When these crises arise, we are trustees, really guardians of our future. We may ourselves, though Heaven forbid, be involved in difficulties when these rights are of the utmost importance.

"We should have the right to buy. We must maintain the right to buy. We have the need—in the absence of a merchant marine such as we should have—we have the need of utilizing the facilities of travel, and we must protect American citizens in every right with respect to life, property, and commerce as to all nations."

The New York "World," which has been throughout the campaign a strong supporter of President Wilson, reports that this declaration of Mr. Hughes was warmly applauded, and that the questioner thanked Mr. Hughes for his answer.

Mr. Hughes's declaration concerning the shipment of arms has made definite what has been generally assumed, that neither the Republican nor the Democratic candidate could be expected at any time during the campaign to lend support to the proposition to prevent American trade in munitions of war.

THE SO-CALLED LUSITANIA POSTSCRIPT

One of the later sensations of a very unsensational campaign was the charge made by Senator Lodge that after the first Lusitania note was completed the President prepared a "postscript" which in substance said that Germany should not put too serious a construction on the warning that the American Government would "omit no word or act" to sustain American rights; that both the note and the alleged postscript were signed by Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State; and that three or four members of the Cabinet demanded that the postscript be withdrawn on pain of their resignation. This story Senator Lodge said he received from Professor Bailey, of Tufts College, who had in turn received it from the former Assistant Secretary of War, Henry Breckinridge. Mr. Breckinridge at once issued a statement saying that any one who had so quoted him was a scoundrel, that no member of President Wilson's Cabinet had ever threatened the President, and that "the malice that would seek for partisan advantage to emasculate the potency of an important act of one's Government in a vital international affair by the mongering of backstairs gossip is beneath contempt."

It was soon pointed out that this denial was not specific. Within a day or two, however, the President himself took note of this charge, and said in a published statement over his name that the statement by Senator Lodge was untrue; that no postscript or amendment was ever written or contemplated by him; that a proposal for arbitration was suggested, but that he had rejected it because it was inconsistent with the purpose of the note.

Senator Lodge accepted the President's denial as to any "postscript," and placed the responsibility for the statements on Mr. Breckinridge. He reiterated, however, that, whether embodied in a postscript or not, the

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intimation that the Lusitania note was not to be taken seriously was conveyed to the Central Powers by Secretary Bryan through Ambassador Dumba, and pointed out that the fact that the Central Powers did not take the note seriously has been demonstrated by the destruction of more American lives on the merchant vessel Marina, which was torpedoed on October 28—nearly eighteen months after the Lusitania went down.

Such incidents as that of the Lusitania "postscript" have significance because they tend to put the issues of the campaign before the ordinary citizen in more or less definite form.

THE PRESIDENT AT SHADOW LAWN

The next to the last Saturday of the campaign was designated as "Woodrow Wilson Day" and "Empire State Day" at the President's summer residence, Shadow Lawn, in New Jersey. The people who gathered there were largely representatives of the New York Democratic organization—many of them being members of Tammany Hall. They heard the President in a speech that was somewhat less distinctive and aggressive than his former Saturday speeches.

Defeat for the Democrats in this campaign the President declared would be a calamity. In his opinion, there were four years ago two progressive parties, one the Democratic party and the other the Progressive party; but this year the Democratic party remained as the only progressive party. The progressive movement he regarded as being promoted by men "who perceive that American law has not kept pace with American sentiment; that our law has been holding us rigid and immovable, until class has begun, in free America, to be arrayed against class; until what was legal has begun to play a more important part in our thoughts and determinations than what is human and right; and until America has begun to lag instead of lead in reconciling what is with what ought to be." He told his hearers about what he described as "the freshening winds blowing out of the life of mankind everywhere that have brought on a new day in American politics." He reviewed the legislation secured through his Administration; declared that the work was not completed and, indeed, could not be completed while circumstances changed; and announced that on the coming election the decision was to be whether that work was to be "prematurely interrupted, perhaps for a generation to come, and all the generous forces of the age and of the world thrown back upon themselves in discouragement and confusion."

PRESIDENT WILSON ON THE EUROPEAN WAR

In a speech at Cincinnati on October 26 President Wilson made clearer than he has ever done before his feelings and attitude towards the European war and his understanding of the position of the United States in this world conflict. The following passage from his Cincinnati address forms an illuminating comment upon the often-quoted declaration of his attitude towards the war in which he said that "with its causes and its objects we are not concerned." At Cincinnati he said:

> Have you ever heard what started the present war? If you have, I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has, so far as I can gather. Nothing in particular started it, but everything in general. There had been growing up in Europe a mutual suspicion, an interchange of conjecture about what this Government and that Government was going to do, an interlacing of alliances and understandings, a complex web of intrigue and spying, that presently was sure to entangle the whole of the family of mankind on that side of the water in its meshes.

Further than this he sees the remedy for the conditions which brought on this war, not as a thing for present action, but for future discovery. He continues his comment of past European intrigues in these words:

> Now, revive that after this war is over, and sooner or later you will have just such another war, and this is the last war of the kind or of any kind that involves the world that the United States can keep out of. . . .

Here is the President's explanation as to why the United States cannot keep out of any world war in the future and his remedy for the conditions which brought on the present conflict:

> We must have a society of nations, not suddenly, not by insistence, not by any hostile emphasis upon the demand, but by the demonstration of the needs of the time. The nations of the world must get together and say, "Nobody can hereafter be neutral as respects the disturbance of the world's peace for an object which the world's opinion cannot sanction." The world's peace ought to be disturbed if the fundamental rights of humanity are invaded, but it ought not to be disturbed for any other thing

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that I can think of, and America was established in order to indicate, at any rate in one Government, the fundamental rights of man. America must hereafter be ready as a member of the family of nations to exert her whole force, moral and physical, to the assertion of those rights throughout the round globe.

The President's conclusions are logical only upon the assumption that all the nations of Europe have been equally guilty, that there is no difference between the moral position of Prussia and the moral position of Belgium, that no advance had ever been made toward a realization of a society of nations in which the United States had definite responsibilities and obligations, that liberties can be violated and the violation forgotten without the loss of moral stamina, that future promises of reform can be substituted for present courage and the will to endure.

Against that assumption by the President of the United States a great company of Americans, among whom The Outlook wishes to be counted, have protested, and will continue to protest, because they see in the European war something more than a "complex web of intrigue;" because they believe that the Hague conventions represented a measurable advance toward the formation of a society of nations; because they believe that in the violation of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania the United States itself suffered a direct blow to its integrity and liberty; because they believe that the defense of the integrity and liberty of a nation can never be made to wait upon the convenience of time, but must be prosecuted by the generation upon which the blow falls.

MR. ROOSEVELT DISCUSSES THE PRESIDENT

Taking as his text the President's speech in Cincinnati, Mr. Roosevelt made some severe comments in Brooklyn on October 29 upon the President's policies as he himself had enunciated them. Mr. Roosevelt had in the beginning of his speech quoted from Mr. Mason's interview with Carranza as published in The Outlook, using advance proofs that had been sent out for the convenience of the press. He cited two parallel columns in a Cleveland paper, the headlines in one running, "President Wilson Says We Shall Have to Fight in the Next War," and those in the other running, "Voters Will Support Wilson Because He Is Against War;" and he declared that these two appeals typify the Democratic campaign. President Wilson, said Mr. Roosevelt, "has been conducting his campaign on the issue that he has kept us out of war. And now he turns around and says that we shall surely be involved in the next war and that we ought to fight whenever there is a repetition of such a crime as the invasion of Belgium or the butchery of the Armenians and of the Syrian Christians.

"If his words do not mean this, then they are not worth the breath that uttered them. . . .

"If what the President says in his Cincinnati speech is true," continued Mr. Roosevelt, "if America is indeed sure to be in the next great war, if it is her duty to use all her physical force for the fundamental rights of humanity over the wide world, then rest assured, my fellow-countrymen, America will never take such a position under the lead of a man whose soul was such as to permit him to make use of such an expression as 'too proud to fight.'"

AUSTRALIA AND CONSCRIPTION

Australia has voted, as indicated by the incomplete returns of the election held on October 28, "No conscription for foreign service." It may surprise some of our readers to find that such a question has even been under discussion in Australia. Some of the surprise will doubtless be due to the fact that many people confuse universal training with universal compulsory service at the dictates of a Government.

Australia has universal military training, and in case of invasion she can call upon all her trained manhood to defend her shores. Being a democracy, however, she has found it necessary to vote on the question as to whether her sons can be sent to serve in what is virtually a foreign war. The only difference between Australia and the United States in this respect is that they both possess the power to conscript soldiers for the defense of their country, but that the United States has taken practically no steps to see that its citizens are fitted to protect either themselves or their country.

The Australian vote, according to the incomplete returns, was against conscription for foreign service in about the ratio of nine to eight. The defeat has been attributed to the labor vote, to the women of Australia, and, by one man, to pacifist tendencies imported from the United States.

The Premier of Australia, William Morris

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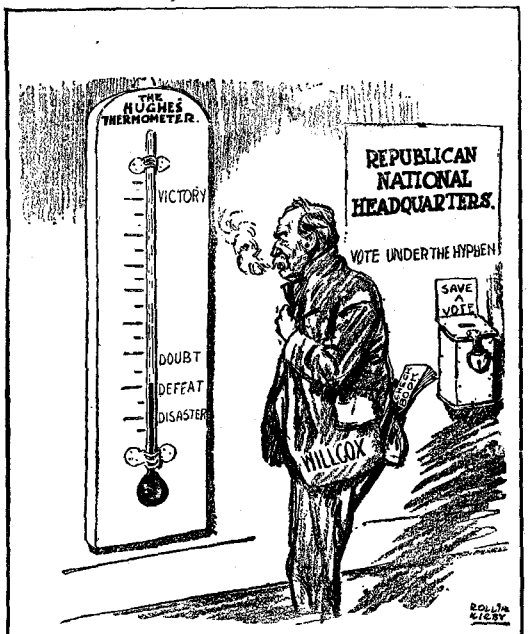
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World



A STEADY FALL IN THE TEMPERATURE
(A Democratic Hope)

Morgan in the Philadelphia Inquirer

THE BEGINNING OF A TOTAL ECLIPSE
(A Republican Prediction)

WHAT THEY THOUGHT BEFORE THE ELECTION

Carter in the New York Evening Sun

"Naturally, Mr. Secretary, your navy couldn't let them drown!"

Louis Raemaekers in the London Daily Mail

The Hun to Jonathan: "I'm doing it on the pavement, not on your doorstep. Presently I'm coming in with a nice letter from the Kaiser."

THE SUBMARINE MENACE TO AMERICA AS SEEN BY AN AMERICAN AND BY A DUTCH CARTOONIST

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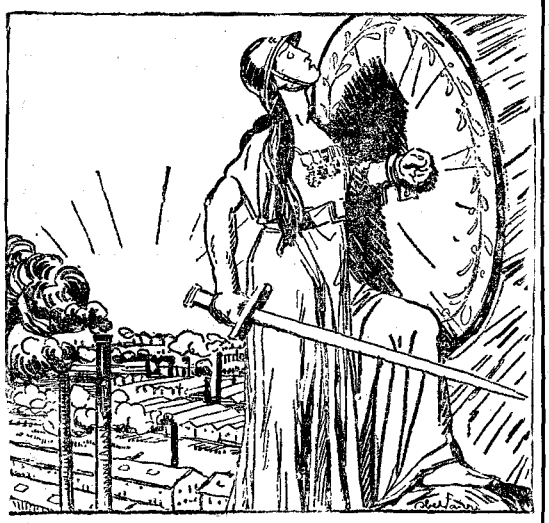
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Abel Faivre in the Echo de Paris



VERDUN

THE FRENCH SPIRIT OF DEFENSE SYMBOLIZED

"The Military Cross! That's good! But we ought now to be entitled to a medal of Agricultural Merit!"

THE SOLDIER-DIGGERS OF THE FRENCH TRENCHES

Forain in Le Figaro (Paris)

ON THE ACROPOLIS

"Look! You can see Verdun from here!"

THE FRENCH SOLDIER SHOWS THE GREEK THE WAY THE BATTLE TENDS

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Hughes, in a manifesto issued at Melbourne to the women of Australia, said of the referendum which has just been voted upon:

To vote "No" would be to abandon those gallant Australian troops who have fought and are fighting so heroically for you; to desert the cause of millions of innocent Belgian women and children, whose agony and suffering have evoked the profound sympathy and passionate outcry of the civilized nations for vengeance against those responsible; to be guilty of base ingratitude to those glorious soldiers of France who have died in hundreds of thousands to save you and the women of the world from dishonor and death; and to betray our kinsmen in Britain to whose valor and sacrifice we owe everything and without whose help we should be utterly lost.

It is possible that the apparent futility of the sacrifice of the Anzac regiments at Gallipoli had a strong influence upon the result of this election.

CARRANZA FOR PRESIDENT

General Venustiano Carranza has formally accepted the nomination of the Constitutionalist Liberal party for the Presidency of Mexico. In a statement reported by the newspapers Carranza says that "the greatest generals and the most important civilians have united" in this party, which includes "such men as Generals Gonzales and Obregon," and that "all are disposed to sustain the Government under my charge."

It will probably be months before a Presidential election is held in Mexico. Before that event the revision of the Constitution by Delegates recently elected for that purpose must take place, then Deputies to Congress must be elected, and later Congress must approve the acts done by Carranza in his executive capacity as First Chief. Finally, Congress will call for the election of a President. In a recent decree Carranza set December 1 of the year in which the President is elected as the date on which he shall take office, so that under no circumstances can Mexico have a President before December 1, 1917.

A disclaimer by the Mexican Government and by Señor Luis Cabrera, Chairman of the Mexican Commission, to the conference at Atlantic City, of the statement alleged to have come from Cabrera to the effect that American officials were virtually aiding Villa and Zapata is, of course, convincing only in a diplomatic sense. That is to say, there is good reason to believe that the statement represents pretty accurately the real feelings of the Mexican Government. It was issued by the Mexican News Bureau, an organization supported by Carranza funds, and, moreover, remarks similar in general tenor to those disclaimed by Cabrera have been published in the newspapers as coming from the First Chief himself. The particular portion of the alleged Cabrera statement which did most to excite unfavorable public comment in the United States was as follows:

"The importation of arms and munitions for the use of Villa, Zapata, and the other bandits and brigands is conducted under the very eyes of supine officials whose business it should be to hinder their transmission across the border."

After declaring in a public statement recently that the revolutionary leader Felix Diaz had been driven out of Mexico into Guatemala, and that "all Zapatistas had been forced to take to the mountains," Carranza said: "The only active movement has been that of the Villistas in Chihuahua, which has been able to continue on account of the facilities the enemies of the Government have acquired in the United States to foment and aid the movement."

As we go to press it is reported that the American-Mexican Joint Commission is about to adjourn until after election day.

THE LUTHERAN FOUR HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

Four hundred years ago Martin Luther nailed ninety-five so-called "theses" on the church door at Wittenberg, Saxony. These theses were directed against the system of indulgences. A Dominican monk named Tetzel had been selling these indulgences, which were assurances of remission of punishment, in return for material contributions to the Church, usually money. The Elector Frederick of Saxony, who was what one might call a natural Protestant, had forbidden Tetzel to enter his territories. But the seller of indulgences had drawn many people from Wittenberg to buy the so-called "Papal tickets." Luther, who was himself a monk, was greatly troubled. He saw that the sales were injurious to the morals of the burghers and believed that the whole system was wrong. So he nailed his theses on the church door, where all could see and read them. In less than a fortnight they were known throughout Ger-

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many. They were hardly a programme of reformation. They made no attempt at theological definition. They were merely points of a debate addressed to the "man in the street." The effect of their publication was that the sale of indulgences rapidly declined and the Protestant Reformation began to take definite form.

The four hundredth anniversary celebration of this event, culminating a year hence, began last week throughout the Lutheran churches of the United States—the third largest communion in America, including some two million persons.

In New York City last week the celebration began with services at the principal churches, with the dedication of the Lutheran Hospital, and with a religious mass-meeting at which the principal speaker was Dr. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, who told of the educational value of the work accomplished by Luther, and aptly suggested that the present festival year be devoted to an educational campaign to teach the people to read the Bible. In the evening there was another great mass-meeting at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn.

The opening of the Lutheran Reformation anniversary, in addition to the anniversary celebrations by several other churches, resulted in a total church attendance of New York City Protestants estimated as the largest on any single Sunday in the history of the metropolis.

PATRIOTISM AND EPISCOPALIANS

There is a close relation between religion and patriotism. That was made evident at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which ended its three weeks' session at St. Louis on October 27 with the reading of a pastoral letter from the House of Bishops. So interwoven are the fortunes of all the nations in the tapestry of fate that to ignore the fact of war would be folly, affirms the letter; certainly the fact that our Nation is not at war "affords no ground for smugness." On the contrary, it throws upon us "the searching responsibility of exalting the true ideals of peace."

Those ideals the letter contrasts with the spirit of a false nationalism. In Europe this false nationalism breaks forth in war, here "in unconsecrated prosperity."

And this remarkable document uses very plain but eloquent words about America, as follows:

> The nation that, in some quarters, for the sake of gain, still chains to the wheels of industry the bodies and souls of little children, that allows human life to be sacrificed to the inventions of speed, . . . that heeds but listlessly the cry of the poor and depressed, is not at peace, even though she be not at war.
>
> If, presently, we aspire to act as peacemakers in behalf of the warring nations, on the ground that we are not caught in the meshes of the actual conflict, let our aspirations be tempered by the reflection that we are tainted with the common disease of which the eruption of war is a symptom, not a cause.

Regarding the present war in particular, what has America done for the humanity involved? The letter complains:

> Let it be sadly said that, in proportion to her swollen wealth, America's contribution toward the alleviation of innocent sufferers in Europe is the merest pittance. A few have given lavishly even to the laying down of their lives; many, in due proportion to their substance; the vast majority, little or nothing. But the opportunity has not yet slipped by. The wounds of Armenia and Belgium still lie gaping to the sky.

What is the result to ourselves? We have come out richer in purse and poorer in manhood. We may be at peace, but "the peace that smothers the soul is as ruthless and inexorable as the war which mangles the body."

ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, NEW YORK CITY

The celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, also formed an occasion for the expression of similar patriotism. St. Paul's, the oldest of the chapels of Trinity Parish, is also the oldest public building in New York City and the only pre-Revolutionary church edifice in it. George Washington attended service there, walking from his house in Cherry Street, the site of which is now occupied by a pillar of the Brooklyn Bridge. Surmounting the pulpit is the brass coat of arms of the Prince of Wales, said to be the only royalist relic still in its original place in the metropolis. Preaching in that pulpit, the Rev. Dr. William Montague Geer reviewed the events in the history of the chapel. He protested that the chapel, of which he is vicar, is not resting on past glories, but is doing good work to-day. In addition to its regular Sunday services it has two daily services, one at twelve and the other at one o'clock, for the benefit of men downtown during the lunch hour; a lunch club with more than six hun-

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dred young women members; organ recitals, a Chinese service once a week, and a service at half-past two o'clock in the morning for night workers. Of course popular interest centered on the historic pew in which George Washington listened to sermons; and Dr. Geer said:

Recalling George Washington at this time makes me think of some questions I should like to put to him. We should like to ask him whether, in his judgment, this country holds the right place in relation to other nations to-day. We should like to know if we could meet him, proud or ashamed of our record from 1914 to 1916. It would mean a great deal to many of us to know what would be his opinion regarding the murdered women and children on the Lusitania and our action in that matter. And what about the starving Serbians, Poles, and Armenians, while this country goes on piling up its millions with full dinner-pails and perfect peace with the world, either from fear or self-interest?

On the following day, when the celebration of the anniversary was resumed, representatives of the Governor of the State sat in the pew once occupied by Governor Clinton; the Mayor of New York City, the head of the Army Department of the East, and representatives of many patriotic societies were also there. The preacher of the day, the Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, rector of Trinity Parish, did not fail to indicate that America had not risen either to the measure of her opportunity or of her responsibility. He said:

Other nations have suffered untold sorrows and losses and are showing marvelous spiritual development. We have prospered materially, but, I fear, we have suffered grave spiritual losses. . . . It has not in the past been the way of America to sit indifferent to the struggle for justice and freedom anywhere. . . . For a nation, as for an individual, there are situations in which to sit in silence, to refrain from bearing witness, or to stop short of using every means to make that witness effective means grievous hurt and peril to the soul.

Dr. Manning then paid his respects to pacifism, declaring that the effort to identify the Christian religion with ultra-pacifism misapprehends the truth and injures religion. "Our Lord did not stand for peace at any price, but for righteousness and truth first and at all costs." What we need, asserted Dr. Manning, is a reawakening of our sense of responsibility as citizens of the duty that we owe our country. As an incentive to this the speaker declared that nothing would be of such practical benefit to us as universal military training. Dr. Manning concluded:

I advocate universal training because it will make our land practically secure against invasion. I advocate it because it is the only military system that is truly democratic. It puts all on one common footing. It will develop in us those high qualities of orderliness and system, of respect for authority, and obedience to law.

HOW IS IT WITH THE GUARD?

The whole Nation knows that the National Guard went to the border unprepared to take the field against an enemy. Now, after these troops have spent four months in training and when some of them are returning home and being mustered out of the United States service, military experts tell us that they are still unready. An officer of long experience in the army, and who has seen much of the National Guard, recently remarked: "The organizations are just reaching a point where they are ready to take up real training. Now they must be broken up and sent home. Nothing is ever completed; nothing is thoroughly done."

"Real training in the Guard on the border has just commenced," so, in a statement to The Outlook, says Major Richard Stockton, Jr., of the Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps of the army, who has just returned from an extended trip along the border. "The European nations have learned that six months is all too short a time in which to train soldiers, and our border experiences have shown us that in the United States, owing to our pitiable lack of preparation, even more time is necessary. The people who imagine that the National Guard troops and the regulars on the border make an army are badly fooled."

The Guard has been occupied to no inconsiderable degree with the mere labor incident to the preparation of camp sites that they might become habitable. It was necessary to clear away the cactus, to dig drainage canals for the camp sites, to drain swamps, to construct roads, to make mess shacks and kitchens, to construct offices, and to perform a thousand other things which do not add greatly to the training for fighting purposes, but which are quite necessary if troops are to remain any length of time in one camp.

Possibly the greatest drawback to the training of the Guard lies in the self-evident fact that its officers, mostly of limited experience

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and training themselves, had to attempt to impart knowledge that they were themselves receiving. While these Guard officers were instructing their men they were themselves only students of the few army officers assigned to the various National Guard units. Naturally the men could not make the same progress as would have been the case had their officers' military education been of a more finished nature. Four months after the call it is still possible to tell the regular soldier from the Guardsman when you meet them on the street, and that even though no insignia be shown. The Guardsman is not yet well set up; he has not the soldier's military carriage; his uniform does not fit well and is not always neat; his military courtesy is at a very low ebb. These are the little things that outwardly indicate the presence or absence of training in the soldier.

As a matter of fact, the training has not even pretended to go into the more advanced work which is necessary before troops can possibly be fully efficient in battle. Troops have actually returned from the border without having had any rifle practice at all while they were there, and their officers have reported that they were "leading up" to extended order work of the more advanced kind. At the end of three months there was probably not a single company which had had a "fire control problem" with ball cartridges —the nearest possible approach to battle conditions in peaceful training.

As for equipment, troops have returned as they went, with much of it missing. Much has been done in this respect, and much has been issued, but much is still undone. At the end of almost three months, of the seventy-odd thousand horses and mules that were needed only thirty-six thousand had been issued. Of the horses needed for the field artillery, out of twenty-one thousand needed only seven thousand (one-third) had been issued. Men were still short of uniforms. In the supply departments the army was undoubtedly almost as unready for the big task before it as was the National Guard.

Who is responsible? Those who have inquired say that when they have tried to find out they have almost invariably found a hard-working, capable officer of the army or the Guard who was tied down by matters beyond his control. Sometimes it was by lack of experience in dealing with bodies of troops of a size which the Government had never permitted him to see; sometimes it was by the inflexible red tape of our system. The cause goes beyond the Guardsmen, beyond the army officer, beyond the War Department. It goes beyond Congress, to the American people.

The hard experience of the present mobilization shows that the American people are not sufficiently interested to find out for themselves the truth, and to insist that Congress follow the advice of those who have told us for years that war would find our troops in the condition in which this fortunately peaceful border concentration has found them. This whole experience emphasizes the need of a real Council of National Defense.

"NO MAN UNDERSTANDETH HIM"

If the churches are to reach the people, they must speak to the people in their own language.

It would be useless to preach to a congregation of Chinese in the English language without an interpreter. It is almost as useless to speak to a congregation of East-Siders in the language of Fifth Avenue, or, for that matter, to a congregation of Fifth Avenue in the language of East-Siders. The church which would carry its message to all sorts and conditions of men must be all things to all men. The evangelist who, preaching to horse jockeys, told them that the torments of hell were worse than the torments of a bob-tailed horse in fly time may have violated good taste, but he used a figure which his congregation could understand. It is said that the hell of the Icelanders is one of ice, not of fire.

The figures which Jesus employed were not taken from the classics, not even from the Hebrew classics. The husbandman sowing the seed, the fisherman casting his net, the peasant finding treasure buried in the ground, the laborer waiting in the market-place to be hired, the delinquent tenant arrested for debt, the shepherd going after wandering sheep, the father forgiving a prodigal son—these were the figures which Christ used, taken from life and appealing to the intelligence and heart of his congregations.

And the preacher must not only speak in a language and with figures which non-churchgoers can understand, but he must deal with the topics which interest them. The question

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whether God exists in Three Persons or One Person does not interest them. But the question whether there is a Father who hears the cry of his children and comforts, counsels, and consoles them is a question which does interest them very much. This question is constantly sent in various forms to The Outlook by unknown friends. The question whether heaven and hell are places, and, if so, where they are, does not interest them. But the question whether the dead are really dead or are still living, whether the departed are really departed, or whether they are our neighbors and companions, witnesses to see how we run our course, interested in our welfare, and perhaps ministers of courage and hope to our hearts, does interest them. We doubt whether one in ten in the average church congregation knows the meaning of the words "vicarious atonement" or could give a definition of the phrase to the satisfaction of the preacher in the pulpit. But every one who has ever been served by the suffering of another or who has been called through suffering to serve another knows the meaning of self-sacrifice. And the minister who can persuade a congregation that this spirit of self-sacrifice reaches its highest manifestation in God's service of his children by his suffering for them will never fail to reach their hearts.

Émile Hovelaque, in his book "The Deeper Causes of the War," quotes Nietzsche as follows:

> Ye have heard it said of old, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you, Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne, and ye have heard men say, Blessed are the poor in spirit; but I say unto you, Blessed are the mighty and free in spirit, for they shall enter Valhalla. And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the peacemakers; but I say unto you, Blessed are those who make war, for they shall be called, not the children of Jahvé, but the children of Odin, who is greater than Jahvé.

Not many profess this philosophy, but some practice it. Many profess the contrary philosophy of Jesus, but few practice it. Most of us sometimes follow the one and sometimes the other counsel, according to our circumstances and our temperaments. The minister who can make his congregation realize the ugliness of Nietzsche's counsel and the beauty of Jesus' counsel, and can inspire them with persistent courage to attempt and with power to attain Jesus' ideal, will never lack interested hearers. But they would pay little attention to a philosophical discussion of the respective merits of the utilitarian and intuitional theories of ethics.

We want from our preachers neither ethics nor theology, but life. This is what the people mean by their demand for practical preaching.

"KEEP ON KEEPING ON"

If Browning had written nothing save "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," he would command the gratitude of all who know the blackest moments in the struggle of life. It is easy for those of vigorous will and courage to push on, however difficult the way, if there are glimpses of distant hills bright with sunlight, or if stars look down on the hardships of the journey; but to the bravest the black hours come when there is no vision of escape from failure, no hope of final achievement. The road to the Dark Tower grew more and more grim, the landscape more and more desolate, the loneliness of solitude more and more oppressive, and at the end the names of daring adventurers all lost in "the woe of years" made the time and place one vast misery of failure. Ranged along the hillsides they stood, those who had lost the battle.

> "And yet
> Dauntless the slug-horn to my lips I set
> And blew. '*Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came.*'"

When all seems lost, the unconquerable soul sounds its note of triumph.

This supreme experience of desolation comes to few men and women, but hours of black depression and something like despair come to the purest, the most heroic, the worthiest. What shall a man do when faith seems to fail and hope dies and final failure seems to close in like an impenetrable cloud? Keep straight on. It is the moment of supreme peril, for, according to the old fable, the devil's best weapon is despair. It is the supreme test of character, the moment which shows whether faith has been a matter of sunshine, of prosperity, of happiness, or has become the unshakable foundation on which rest the hopes, the purposes, the strength of a man's soul. Has he the vitality of conviction and the immovable loyalty to stand when all help seems to fail him? That hour is the supreme test of the man; it is

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the devil's chance, but it is also God's opportunity.

In Mr. Snaith's striking novel "The Sailor," the hero knows nothing of faith, and his world is apparently organized deprivation and cruelty; but he has stumbled upon one great vital principle; he has discovered how to "keep on keeping on." When everything seems to be taken away, a man can set his will to "keep on keeping on" and defy evil or depressing conditions by pressing steadily on. Despair may be in his heart, but his will is unshaken, and "sudden the worst turns the best to the brave." History and biography are full of swift transitions from thick darkness to the glory of the sun breaking through the clouds; a thousand and a thousand times apparent defeat has been the prelude to victory. When Cavour, heart-broken by failure in his ardent dream of a united Italy, was on the verge of suicide, success was already in his hands; and it was during that tragic winter when Washington's troops, ragged and half fed, seemed like the ghosts of a lost cause that a compact and effective army was created for Washington. To the true of heart there can come no ultimate defeat; they carry victory in their spirits.

WILLIAM MERRITT CHASE

THE metropolis is poorer by the loss of a well-known figure—an alert figure, moving with short, quick steps, the hat always different from any other, the piercing gaze, the bristling mustache and beard, accentuated by aggressive eye-glasses, their broad black ribbon, and the striking cravat.

William Merritt Chase is dead. He was born in 1849, fifteen years later than Whistler, seven years earlier than Sargent. He was the friend of both. Their works are better known in Europe than his; his seem better known here than theirs.

Chase was born in Franklin, Indiana. It is appropriate that his native State should possess one of his fine portraits, his "Dorothy," as well as one of the best portraits of him—and that by another Westerner, his friend Carroll Beckwith. Another portrait of Chase dominates one of the rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; it was painted by Sargent and was the gift from Chase's pupils to the Museum. In the same room one finds Kenyon Cox's portrait of the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens; the figure in the bas-relief on which the sculptor is represented as working is Saint-Gaudens's friend Chase. A portrait of Mr. Chase appears on another page.

Young Chase began work as a clerk in his father's shoe shop. He lost his job because he wasted much wrapping-paper in his efforts to draw and paint. He had always shown talent at drawing and painting, and finally his parents permitted him to study art as a profession in Indianapolis, and later at the National Academy of Design in New York City. Still later certain patrons made it possible for him to go to Munich. This, as he often said, "proved the turning-point in my life." He studied under Piloty, and made such progress that he was ultimately asked to paint the Piloty children. In speaking of his master, Chase used to quote him as prophesying that America would become the country of artists and art lovers. "Everything points to it," asserted Piloty. "You have the space and you have the great inspiration of the place where life is being lived. Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England, these have had their day; the future is with America."

In 1878 two young artists set sail together to return home—Chase from a six years' study in Munich, Beckwith from a five years' study in Paris. Both became noted painters and both began to support themselves in part by teaching in the just-established school of the Art Students' League in New York City. In the same year two Munich men, Chase and Shirlaw, became leaders of the movement towards greater freedom from the ideals of the Academy of Design, and founded the Society of American Artists. No longer dull tones and meticulous finish! henceforth, atmosphere, fresh air, reality. Twenty years later another body of painters, the famous "Ten," separated themselves from the Academy and began exhibiting by themselves. Chase was soon counted among them.

He became a great painter, and the foundation of his greatness was reverence for his art. Listen to him as he spoke to the readers of The Outlook six years ago:

> The profession of the artist is one of the most ancient that we know, and, as I tell the students about to enter it, the most dignified. Why?

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Because it appeals to those elements in human nature which, arriving latest in man's development up from the mere animal, are concerned with the loftiest emotions of which he is capable. . . .

The value of a work of art depends simply and solely on the height of inspiration, on the greatness of soul, of the man who produced it. The value of the work of art is in its quality to make you a sharer in the thoughts and sensations of rarely gifted men. And our joy in receiving them comes from our recognition that, though we have not the power to do such work, we have yet sufficient of the same qualities in ourselves to respond to them when they appear.

With such ideals Chase plunged into any task and at any time of life with an entirely youthful buoyancy. Not as subtle as Whistler, not as rugged as Sargent, he seems more normal than either. Perhaps in his portraits he did not exhibit his mental experiences as much as he might have done, but the sightseer took satisfaction in the solid underpinning of the Chase figures compared to Whistler's, and in the quiet harmony of the Chase tone compared to Sargent's. And one also instantly felt that Chase had been quick beyond most contemporaries to catch a subject at the right moment. His own children understood this trait. One day his little daughter, standing by the window and looking at the sky, cried: "Papa, come quickly; here is a cloud posing for you!" Again, the onlooker feels that Chase was sure of himself. "They say I am conceited," he said in the course of a talk at the National Arts Club in New York City. "I don't deny it," he continued. "I believe in myself. I do and I must." Finally, the sightseer becomes conscious of Chase's delight both in his medium and in his sympathy with his subject. Thus his work is as direct, vital, and sincere as it is varied.

Varied? What figure in American art has been more versatile? Portraits, landscape, *genre*, still life, Chase excelled in them all. This is not saying that his output, especially his early output, was not uneven. Once he found a canvas which looked rather familiar to him, and discovered that it was one of his own early ones. "I would like to buy it just to remove it from the public gaze," he said. Probably his evenness was best expressed by his still life pictures, simply because no one else seemed able to produce the indispensable quality to still life—tone. Grapes, peaches, copper stew-pans, and especially the scale and skin of fish; here, indeed, was beauty of brush work. His first well-known still life picture was painted in London. He had been attracted by a magnificent-looking cod on a slab in a Kensington fishmonger's shop. He succeeded in hiring it for a couple of hours, took it to his room, and set about painting it. The picture was ultimately bought by the Corcoran Gallery at Washington for $2,000. When Chase returned to London, he called on the fishmonger and asked him to accept some of the money. But the good man declined, merely saying: "It were a good portrait, to be sure; but were it not a fine cod?"

If Chase's art was his own individual art, it was also distinctly and peculiarly American art. Perhaps more than any other, Chase was a representative American artist. In whose landscapes does one better get the tang and thinness and crispness of our air, and the whity brightness of our light? In whose portraits may one more worthily realize the American type—that type of which Chase once said:

Watch the crowds along Piccadilly or the Champs Élyseés—you spot the Americans among them almost as easily as if they wore our flag in their buttonholes. It means that already a new type has appeared, the offspring, as we know, of European stock, but which no longer resembles it. An Englishman in the portrait by Gainsborough or Reynolds, a Dutchman by Rembrandt, or an Italian by Titian, is clearly the ancestor of the Englishman, the Dutchman, or the Italian of to-day. But, though the American may have some of the blood of these other individuals, . . . we feel that somehow he has broken away from the steady channel of heredity. And just as his look and character are different, so his art must be different.

And so it is right that the pictures by such an American should be found in well-nigh every important American gallery. Take Chase's "Whistler" and his "Sargent" in New York City, his "Lady with the White Shawl" in Philadelphia, his "Alice" in Chicago, or the other "Alice," his daughter, which is printed on another page, as examples. Let us not forget, too, that his was the first American portrait to be hung in the Luxembourg in Paris, and that he took first honors at the Expositions there, and that the Italian Government asked Sargent and himself for their own portraits by themselves, to be hung in the Uffizi alongside the classic portraits of old masters by themselves, and that now the two friends look

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into each other's eyes in the famous Florence gallery.

Chase was not only a great painter, he was a great teacher. He taught wherever he painted—in New York, at Shinnecock, Haarlem, Florence, Madrid. Pupils naturally gathered about him wherever he was. Many of those pupils have now obtained fame for themselves. The reason why Chase was "the real thing" as a teacher was, first, because he knew well how to impart clearly the expression of his own art; and, secondly, because he was just "plain" kind. He would buy his pupils' best pictures and hang them alongside those of the old masters in his studio. And he knew when and how to encourage. One day he was walking on the beach at Shinnecock. A youth in shabby attire was sketching. Chase stopped, looked at the sketch, and remarked: "Young man, why don't you come to my criticisms? Come to the next one." The poor lad would have long before applied for admittance at the Chase school had he been rich enough. Now, helped by the generosity of the students, inspired by their master, he came. It was Chase's habit to put a canvas on the easel and call out, "Whose picture is this?" The sketcher would stand up and be criticised. The usual procedure went on that day until the strange youth's canvas was exhibited. Instead of asking the customary question, Chase pointed straight to the lad and said, "Young man, you will be a painter some day." And the young man has since abundantly justified Chase's prophecy. He is one of the most disinctive of the younger American painters.

Three things Chase impressed on all his pupils. The first was truth; the second, interesting treatment; the third, quality. By truth Chase meant, as he said, that "the picture shall give the impression of a thing well seen." But truth is not enough—that is an external element. As the artist would continue, "We must add to it the interest of the artist himself, the interest which expresses itself in his manner of treatment." Finally comes quality, and this Chase would define as "the result of a perfect balance of all the parts."

And there was one thing more to impress the pupils—a blank canvas on a frame high up on the wall of Chase's studio. He called it his masterpiece, and said, "That is my best work. I have painted on it thousands of times, and I know that I am getting on with my art because each year I paint a better picture there. Not that I shall ever actually touch a brush to that canvas; it is for the pictures that I paint in my mind, for the ideals towards which my actual works are directed. I am sorry I cannot show you that picture quite as I see it. I am always trying, but it keeps ahead of me the more I advance, and must remain something that no one can see but myself—the full measure of what my years as a painter have led me to realize of life and nature and art."

THE STORY OF FOUR INTERVIEWS

THE article entitled "Wilson, Hughes, Taft, and Mexico," which appeared in the last preceding issue of The Outlook, has been taken notice of by officials of two Governments. It was, as our readers know, the first of a series of special correspondence articles from Mexico written by Mr. Gregory Mason, a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook.

Mr. Mason's first article reported very recent interviews held by him with General Carranza and the three other most prominent and influential leaders of the Carranza party and the Carranza army. It is not surprising that these interviews have been quoted all over this country in the newspapers, for, while evoking expressions of gratitude for certain acts of President Wilson, they contain such expressions as Carranza's "Wilson has not kept faith with Mexico;" as Obregon's "Wilson makes too many declarations which have no facts behind them;" as Gonzales's "Wilson's policy is not clear, it is not frank, it is not clean;" and as Aguilar's "Wilson's policy has at times been marked by vacillation and double-dealing." Three of the Mexican leaders, Mr. Mason reported, intimated what Gonzales openly declared, that "direct aggression from Hughes" was preferable to "the doubtful friendship of Wilson."

In Washington, as well as in American newspapers, these interviews excited interest and comment. From one source, indeed, they brought forth question as to their authenticity. The Mexican Ambassador-Designate to the United States, Señor Arredondo, was

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reported in the press despatches as having expressed an intention to lay before our State Department denials of the authenticity of the interviews; then as having made a statement to our State Department to the effect that the interviews were not "authorized" or "official," that no such interviews had been given, with the exception of that with General Gonzales, and that Gonzales was misquoted!

Upon the circulation of the first of these reports through the press the following telegram was despatched:

October 31, 1916.

Señor Eliseo Arredondo,
Mexican Ambassador-Designate,
Washington, D. C.

We observe in press despatches statements that you deny the authenticity of the interviews by Gregory Mason in The Outlook this week with General Carranza, General Obregon, General Pablo Gonzales, and Secretary Aguilar. As we do not wish to depend upon press reports, and as we vouch for the trustworthiness of Mr. Mason and his interviews, we respectfully inquire if you deny that these interviews are true and genuine interviews, and should appreciate a telegraphic reply to reach us by to-morrow.

THE OUTLOOK,
ERNEST H. ABBOTT,
Secretary.

To this the following reply was received:

Washington, D. C., November 1, 1916.

Ernest H. Abbott,
Sec'y The Outlook Magazine, New York:

Really I know that quotations attributed to Mexican officials cannot be accepted as official nor has their publication been authorized. General Gonzalez interview, the only one obtained, was erroneously interpreted.

ARREDONDO.

Señor Arredondo is mistaken in saying that General Gonzales's interview was the only one obtained. The interviews did not purport to be "official" communications. Their meaning is unmistakable.

The Outlook stands squarely, unreservedly, and with full knowledge behind its representative in this matter. But as the question which appears to have been raised by Señor Arredondo relates to a matter which is not merely of journalistic concern but of public importance, it seems right to make a full statement of the circumstances. This is particularly so, as some papers seem to have imbibed the absurd idea that Mr. Mason was sent to Mexico for the express purpose of obtaining utterances which might affect the political campaign in the United States. One reader even writes to us in almost hysterical perturbation about the "outrageous" conduct of The Outlook in trying to manufacture political opinion! As a matter of fact, when Mr. Gregory Mason went to Mexico early in September last, the letter of authorization that he carried made this clear, as follows:

September 5, 1916.

Mr. Gregory Mason, of the editorial staff of The Outlook, is authorized to show this letter to any one interested as a mark of our confidence in his responsibility, and as our respectful request for any courtesies that may be shown to him. He is visiting Mexico for the purpose of learning something about the prevailing social and industrial conditions in that country. We have sent him on this mission with the belief that it will enable The Outlook to discuss the relations between Mexico and the United States with more intelligence and sympathy. He is not going to Mexico to further any preconceived political notions or the fortunes of any political party.

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY,
(Signed) LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT,
President.

A word about the author of the article under discussion. Gregory Mason is not a reporter, not in the ordinary sense a special correspondent; he is and has been for several years a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook. To say that the editors of The Outlook have confidence in his integrity and fairness and truthfulness would be simply to say that they have confidence in their own honesty. It has been the good fortune of The Outlook to utilize for its readers' benefit Mr. Mason's ability as an observer and student of conditions in other countries, as it has been its privilege to utilize in the same way those qualities in the work of Mr. George Kennan. Just as Mr. Kennan visited Cuba, Japan, and Martinique in behalf of The Outlook, so Mr. Mason has visited Mexico and Russia.

The journey in Mexico which has resulted in the series of articles now appearing in The Outlook was the third made by Mr. Mason in The Outlook's behalf. The first was in the days when Carranza and Villa were fighting against the Huerta Government, and our readers will remember vividly the interviews with the two revolutionary chiefs; the second was when the United States troops under General Pershing entered Mexico, and from it came a series of articles relating Mr. Mason's

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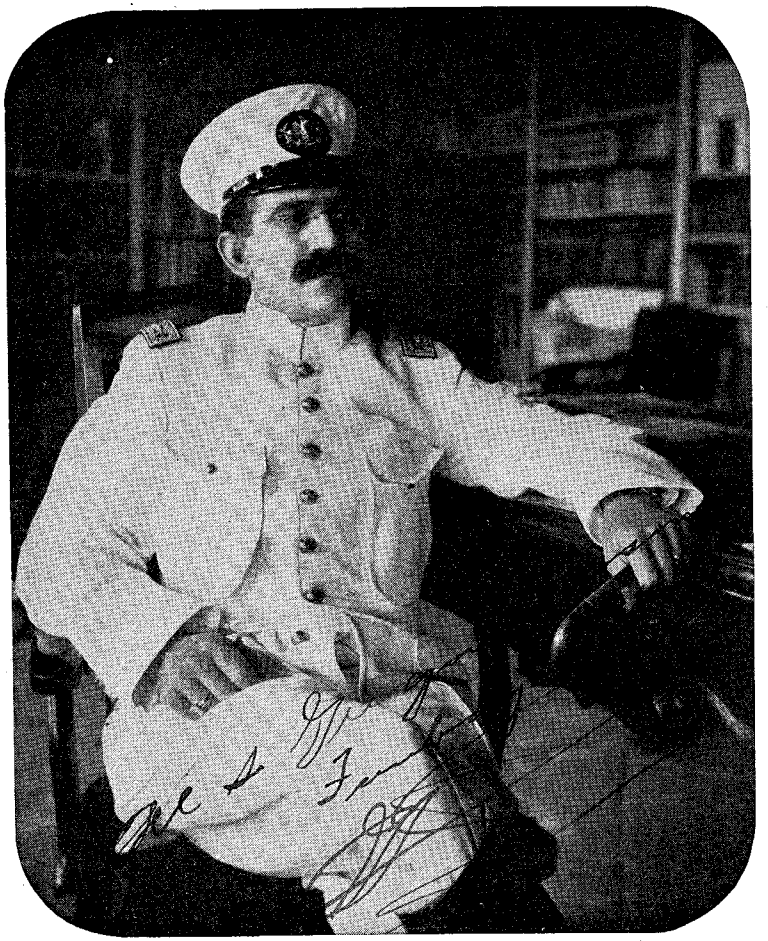

GENERAL PABLO GONZALES, COMMANDING THE MILITARY FORCES IN SOUTHERN MEXICO

General Gonzales is commonly expected to succeed Carranza as First Chief when Carranza resigns to run for the Presidency. The inscription on this photograph is "To Mr. Gregory Mason, Tacubaya; Oct. 14, '16." The chirographic flourish is the General's initials in autograph. Gen. Gonzales gave this photograph to Mr. Mason with the typewritten copy of his interview

MR. CANDIDO AGUILAR, WHO DIRECTS MEXICO'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. Aguilar, who was a *mozo*, or domestic servant, before the revolution, is now *Secretario de Relaciones* (Secretary of Foreign Affairs). The inscription on the photograph reads: "For The Outlook, Mexico, 17th of Oct., 1916, C. Aguilar." This signed photograph Mr. Aguilar gave to Mr. Mason at the time of his interview with the Mexican official

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EL PUEBLO

DIARIO DE LA MAÑANA.

MEXICO, DOMINGO 15 DE OCTUBRE DE 1916

El C. Gral. González Hace Declaraciones Muy Interesantes

Contesta el Cuestionario que al Efecto le Presentara la Revista Norteamericana "The Outlook"

1o.—P.—¿Cuáles considera usted que sean los principales trabajos realizados ya por el Constitucionalismo [illegible] de la reconstrucción?

[illegible] vimiento armado, y [illegible] todo ello un conjunto sólido, homogéneo y perfectamente legal, que será la base para que la Nación entre de nuevo y definitivamente, al orden Constitucional.

2o.—P.—¿Cuáles son los principales problemas de reconstrucción todavía pendientes de resolverse, y cuánto tiempo se requerirá para reorganizar todo el país?

R.—Como el Gobierno Constitucionalista se ha enfrentado resueltamente con todas las necesidades de la Nación, todos los problemas han sido tratados y sólo faltan detalles de perfeccionamiento para su completa resolución. Subsisten sólo algu- diferencias de criterio sobre el agrario, pero es indudable anzará un acuerdo y definitiva y tam- sol.

normales, no es fácil de preverse, porque pueden retardarlo factores inesperados y completamente ajenos a la voluntad del actual Gobierno de [illegible] cuedo decir que [illegible] iscusiones [illegible] pueblo mexica[illegible] estará con el Gobierno Nac[illegible]

4o.—P.—¿Aprueba usted, en general, la política de Wilson respecto a México? Y si no, ¿cuáles considera usted que serán sus principales errores?

R.—No apruebo en general la política de Wilson, por una razón fundamental para mí, como creo lo será para todo hombre honrado; porque esa política no es clara, no es franca, no es pura. Yo no puedo compaginar la expedición de Pershing con las declaraciones bombásticas y contínuas del Presidente Wilson sobre su respeto y simpatía para México. Yo quiero que el Presidente Wilson sea nuestro amigo y lo demuestre con hechos, o sea nuestro enemigo y nos declare la guerra; pero que no [illegible] esa política doble

EL UNIVERSAL

DIARIO POLITICO DE LA MAÑANA

. PALAVICINI | MEXICO, DOMINGO 15 DE OCTUBRE DE 1916

Declaraciones del Sr. Gral. don Pablo González al Periódico "The Outlook"

LABOR REALIZADA POR EL CONSTITUCIONALISMO.—LEGISLACION REVOLUCIONARIA

1a. P.—¿Cuáles consideraría usted que sean los principales trabajos realizados ya por el Constitucionalismo en la línea de la reconstrucción?

R.—Ante todo, la multiplicación de escuelas primarias y el fuerte impulso dado por el Gobierno Constitucionalista, apesar del estado de guerra en que ha vivido, a todos los ramos de la enseñanza pública, y además, diversas reformas de importancia política y social, como la expedición de leyes obreras, el establecimiento del Municipio [illegible] la creación de la Comisión Nacional Agraria, con dependencias en todos los Estados, cuya labor ha sido [illegible] varios casos [illegible] repartimiento de [illegible]

que, tanto en [illegible] en mi concepto, su falta de claridad y franqueza.

TOLERANCIA CULPABLE DE TAFT HACIA E. L. WILSON

5a. P.—¿Fué culpable el Presidente Taft, de estorbar a la causa de la Democracia y del Constitucionalismo en México, por la lealtad de su actitud hacia el Gobierno de Madero y por su tolerancia con las intrigas de Henry Lane Wilson, cónsul de dicho Presidente?

R.—Creo que fué culpable, pero no por lo primero, sino por lo segundo. En rigor, el Presidente Taft no estaba obligado a tener calurosas simpatías por nuestro Presidente Madero y cumplía con su deber sostuviendo, aunque fríamente, sus relaciones con nuestro gobernante; pero sí estaba obligado a desautorizar las intrigas de Lane Wilson, porque el nombre de los Estados [illegible] comprometido con la per- [illegible] de [illegible]

HOW MR. MASON'S INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL GONZALES WAS FEATURED BY THE NEWSPAPERS OF MEXICO CITY

General Gonzales gave to the papers copies of The Outlook's questions and of his replies thereto, which the papers published in full. In the right-hand column of the clipping from "El Universal" Gonzales blames President Taft for his attitude toward Madero, and in the right-hand column of the clipping from "El Pueblo" he says that the Mexican policy of President Wilson "is not clear, is not frank, is not clean"

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experiences with our army and on the border; the present series will tell what Mr. Mason saw and learned in Mexico City, in Yucatan, and elsewhere in Mexico. Quite as notable in their scope and graphic quality were Mr. Mason's special articles from Russia last year. Not only was his journalistic achievement in securing the remarkable interview with Mr. Sazonoff, then the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, a matter of comment in Europe as well as in the United States, but the interview itself has been regarded as one of the most remarkable utterances from any Foreign Minister of the belligerent nations. We are referring to all these accomplished achievements because, first, frankly speaking, The Outlook takes sincere pride in them, and secondly because they testify to our colleague's experience and admitted fair-mindedness in precisely the kind of journalistic work which is now in question.

In connection with this statement will be found signed photographs of two of the Mexican leaders whose views were reported last week which were personally presented by them to Mr. Mason. We are also printing facsimile extracts from two Mexican papers commenting upon one of the interviews, which was prematurely published, not by Mr. Mason, but by General Gonzales himself. These two newspapers are of a semi-official character and are warm in support of General Carranza and his Government. Finally, we present a facsimile in Spanish and English of part of the first page of the questionnaire approved by General Gonzales. It is not in defense of our colleague's integrity and truthfulness that we print these pictures and documents, for they need no defense; but because they are intrinsically interesting. For the same reason we here quote from an account which Mr. Mason wrote for the information of his colleagues (he returned to the United States immediately after securing the interviews) in which he narrates the story of the way in which the interviews took place:

"You may be interested in knowing the circumstances under which I got the interviews with the four Mexican leaders which have just been published in The Outlook.

"Of the four men, I first saw General Pablo Gonzales. I believe it was on Wednesday, October 11, that I visited him at his house at Tacubaya, a suburb of Mexico City. With me were a Dr. Cockerill, an American well known in Mexico City, and a friend of his, a Mexican, Señor Pastrana. General Gonzales said that he would prefer to have me put my questions in writing, and the next day I sent him a list of ten questions.

"The following Sunday, October 15, at about half-past ten in the morning, a messenger from the General brought me his autographed photograph and my list of questions translated into Spanish, with his answers thereto in the same language. About ten minutes later I opened a morning newspaper of Mexico City and found my questions and the replies of General Gonzales published in full there. I subsequently learned that General Gonzales had sent copies of my questionnaire and of his replies to it to all the newspapers of Mexico City and to the correspondent of the Associated Press and to the correspondent of the New York "World." These copies had been given to most of them on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, October 14, or from twelve to fifteen hours before they were sent to me. My questions and the General's replies were published in full in 'El Pueblo' and 'El Universal,' and, I believe, in all the other papers of Mexico City. The translation of Gonzales's remarks was made for me by Señor Andres Osuna, Director of Public Education in the Republic and a close friend of Carranza. Señor Osuna acted as my guide and sponsor, and his presence gave to my visits to the four Mexican leaders official sanction.

"After my arrival in the United States I found in a copy of 'El Democrata,' a Constitutionalist paper of Mexico City, for Monday, October 23, a statement from General Gonzales reaffirming his authorization of the interview which he had given me. This statement from the General was brought out by a letter from Mr. R. H. Murray, correspondent of the New York 'World' in Mexico City, in which Mr. Murray informed the General that his 'important declarations to The Outlook were being used by the Republican party in the United States as a tremendous political weapon against the candidate of the Democratic party, Mr. Wilson.' General Gonzales, in his letter published in 'El Democrata,' replied as follows:

"I have only to declare in the most categorical manner that any one is profoundly mistaken who supposes that I have any special interest in favor of the Republican party in the United States and against the Democratic party. Before

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CUESTIONARIO DE "THE AOULOOK" Y RESPUESTAS DEL GENERAL PABLO GONZALEZ

lo. P.- ¿ Cuáles considera usted que sean los principales trabajos realizados yà por el Constitucionalismo en la línea de la reconstrucción?

R.- Ante todo, la multiplicación de escuelas primarias y el fuerte impulso dado por el Gobierno Constitucionalista, apesar del estado de guerra en que ha vivido, a todos los ramos de la enseñan

QUESTIONNARY PRESENTED BY GENERAL PABLO GONZALEZ TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "OUTLOOK".

1.- Before all, the multiplication of primary schools and the great impulse given by the Constitutionalist Government, in spite of the conditions of war in which we have been living, to all the different departments of public education and besides several reforms of political and social importance, as the promulgation of laws for the working classes, the establishment of the free town government, the creation of a national commission for agricultural problems with sub-committees in every one of the states.

The upper facsimile is of a section of the first page of Mr. Mason's questionnaire and General Gonzales's replies thereto. The lower facsimile is of a section of the official translation of the General's replies as made by Señor Andres Osuna, the Director of Public Education in Mexico

the questionnaire of The Outlook arrived I had decided to give my personal sincere and honest opinion in response to whatever might be asked me. My respect is the same for both those political parties, as representatives of great portions of the American people, and likewise I regard both candidates with equal personal esteem.

" On the same day he replied to Señor G. Espinosa, correspondent of the New York ' Times,' who asked General Gonzales for an expansion of some of the views which he had expressed to me. One question asked by the ' Times ' correspondent was, ' Do you believe that the declarations you made in the aforesaid interview reflect the sentiment of the majority of the Mexican people ?' General Gonzales replied : ' I believe they do.'

" On Tuesday morning, October 17, I called on Señor Candido Aguilar, *Secretario de Relaciones*, in his office in the Relaciones Building. (*Relaciones* is the equivalent of Foreign Affairs.) Mr. Osuna acted as my interpreter in this interview. I was given to understand that Mr. Aguilar was speaking for publication, for he said, as quoted in my first article : ' I am talking to you pretty frankly. . . . but the First Chief knows The Outlook well, and he believes it intends to be fair and is ready to tell both sides of any question.'

" I saw General Carranza in the National Palace about noon of October 18, and I saw General Obregon at Chapultepec Castle on the afternoon of the same day. Mr. Osuna was my interpreter in both these interviews, as he was with Secretary Aguilar. All three of these interviews were verbal, and always when a particularly important statement was made by one of the Mexicans I asked Mr. Osuna to repeat his translation. In the case of Mr. Aguilar, when the interview was ended

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he asked me to write out what I understood was the gist of what he had said and send it to him. I did this a few hours after the interview, writing the statement in English. Mr. Osuna translated the statement for Mr. Aguilar and brought me word that I had understood the interview correctly. But he later told me that Aguilar's eleventh-hour hope was that I 'would not use much of the interview until after election.' As the interview was a matter of news, I had on this point to exercise my own judgment.

"General Carranza, by the way, was very friendly and promised to send me unpublished copies of telegraphic correspondence which had passed between himself and Henry Lane Wilson in the early days of the Carranza revolution. These have not yet arrived, however, and I doubt if they ever will reach me. General Carranza seemed anxious to meet all my questions fully, and at the end of the interview suggested that if any further questions occurred to me I should send them to him in a letter. This was at two o'clock on the afterooon of October 18, and I was to leave for home that evening. I did not have time to write a letter, but I happened to have in my pocket a copy of the questionnaire which I had submitted to General Gonzales. Mr. Osuna offered to translate this, take it to the First Chief, and bring back his replies; but this would have necessitated my remaining in Mexico another day, and probably missing the issue of The Outlook for November 1, and, as I had already covered in my conversation with Carranza most of the questions which I had put to Gonzales, I decided not to wait.

"GREGORY MASON."

As Mr. Mason's articles were planned solely with a view to obtain accurate information necessary for an enlightened public opinion concerning Mexico, and as this is as necessary now as ever, we commend to our readers' attention Mr. Mason's second article, "Carranza: Will His Government Last?"

CARRANZA: WILL HIS GOVERNMENT LAST?

BY GREGORY MASON

STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK IN MEXICO

"CAN Carranza keep the lid on?"

"Are things in Mexico really as bad as they're painted?"

Such questions are thrown at an outcoming traveler from Mexico as soon as he has concluded the fumigation rites at the American quarantine station on the border. Similar queries are put to him by traveling companions on the journey from Laredo to New York, where the questioning is continued by every one the home-comer meets, until he begins to feel that, with all its tribulations, life in Mexico is less trying than talking about it at home.

But such questions as the above represent about the limits of the average American's interest in Mexico. Special students or those whose material welfare is particularly affected by some special phase of Mexico may ask you questions about the Church or about mining or about cattle or about archæology, but the interest of the average American is pretty well covered by that question, "Can Carranza keep the lid on?"

For the average citizen of this country is interested in Mexico only when the fortunes of that country impinge on the welfare of this. And so long as Carranza or Villa or Madero or Huerta or Diaz or some one can "keep the lid on," the average man and woman in the United States is well enough content.

So to the answering of that question this article is directed. But the task is not an easy one, for this reason:

Probably no country to-day, unless it be China, resists so stubbornly as Mexico the efforts of the investigator to get at the truth. Those who know Mexico best are first to admit that they know it little. The truth about it cannot be better expressed than by the use of the well-known "bromide" that "Mexico is a country of contradictions." Most students of Mexico have read—and those who have not done so should read—"Viva Mexico," by Charles Macomb Flandrau. Those who have read it will remember

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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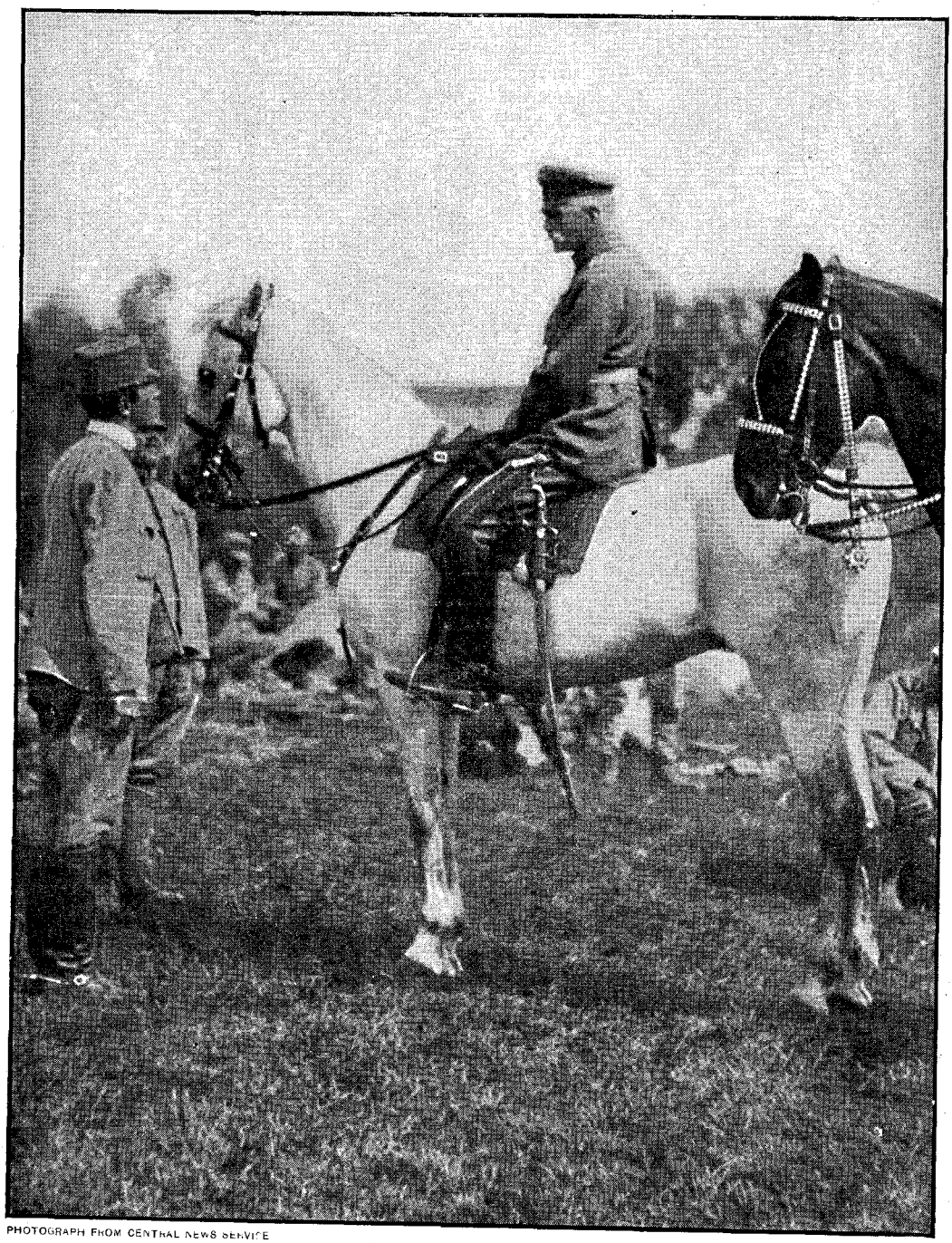
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH FROM CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH OF THE GERMAN GENERAL VON MACKENSEN, THE VICTOR IN THE DOBRUDJA REGION IN RUMANIA

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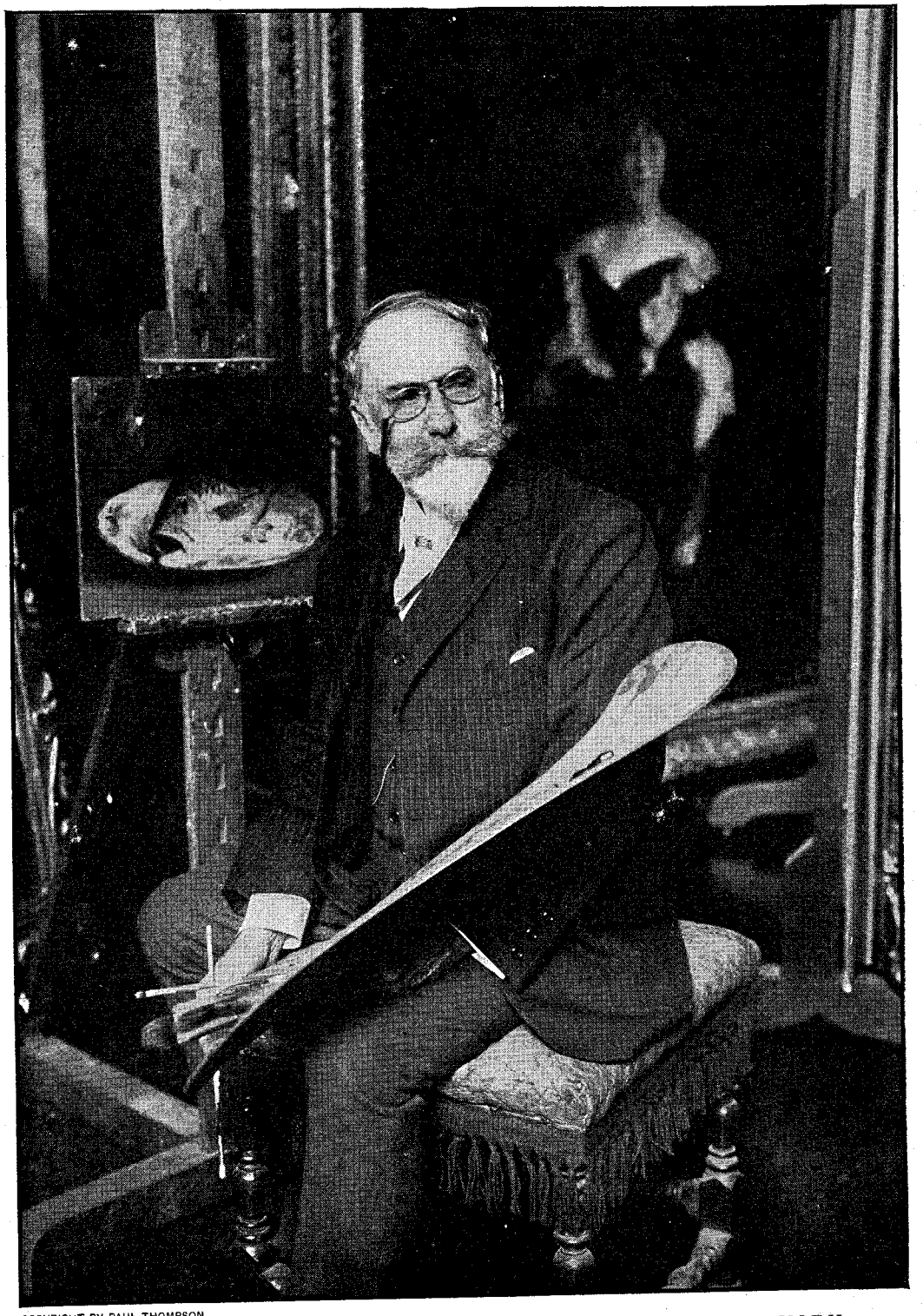

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THE LATE WILLIAM M. CHASE IN HIS STUDIO IN NEW YORK

See editorial comment on the career of this distinguished American artist

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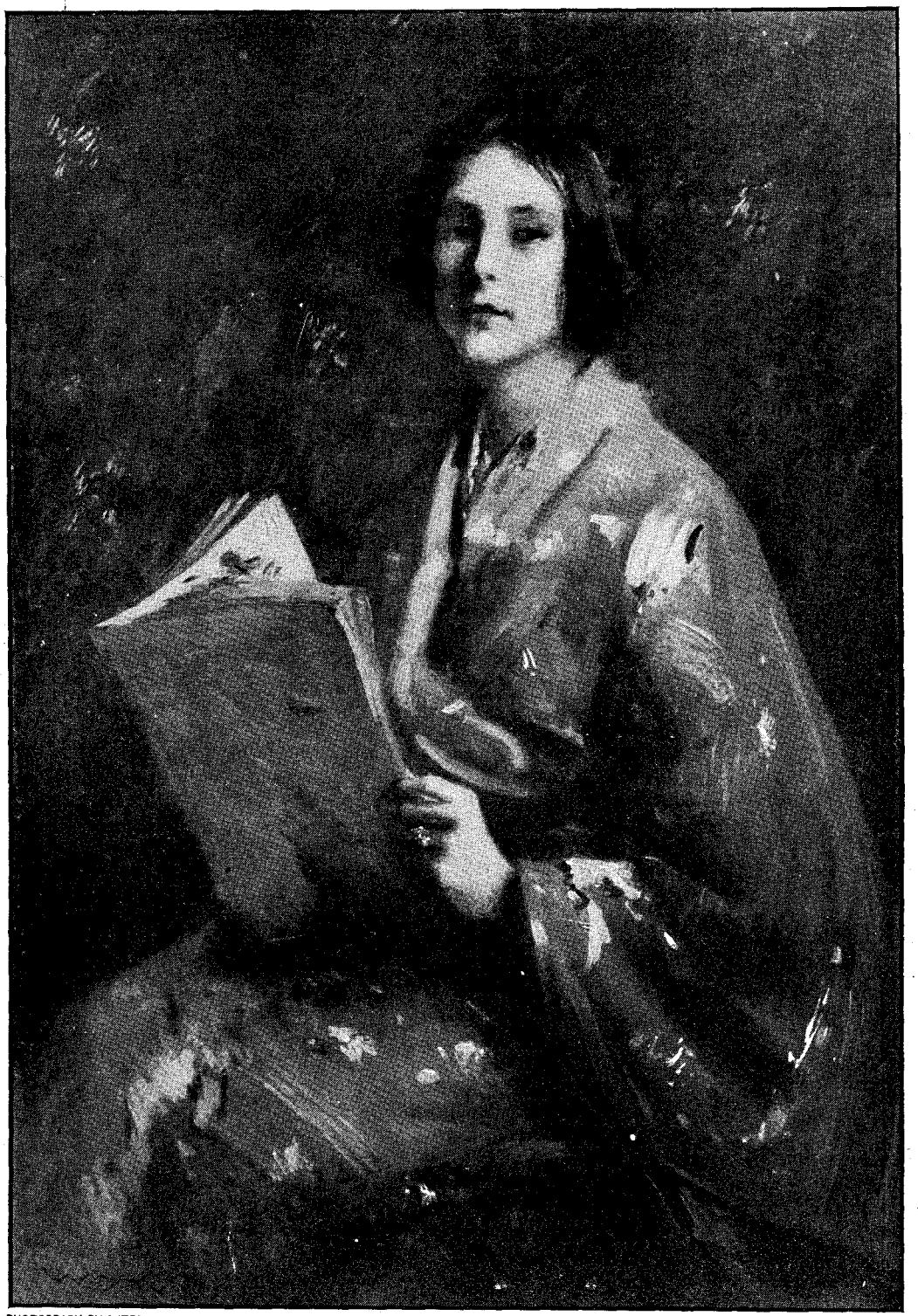

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER A. JULEY

"THE JAPANESE GOWN," BY WILLIAM M. CHASE

This picture was one of Mr. Chase's favorite canvases. The sitter is the artist's daughter Alice. The picture has been seen at many exhibitions. The reproduction of course fails to show the artist's mastery of color, but the spirit of the original is strikingly rendered

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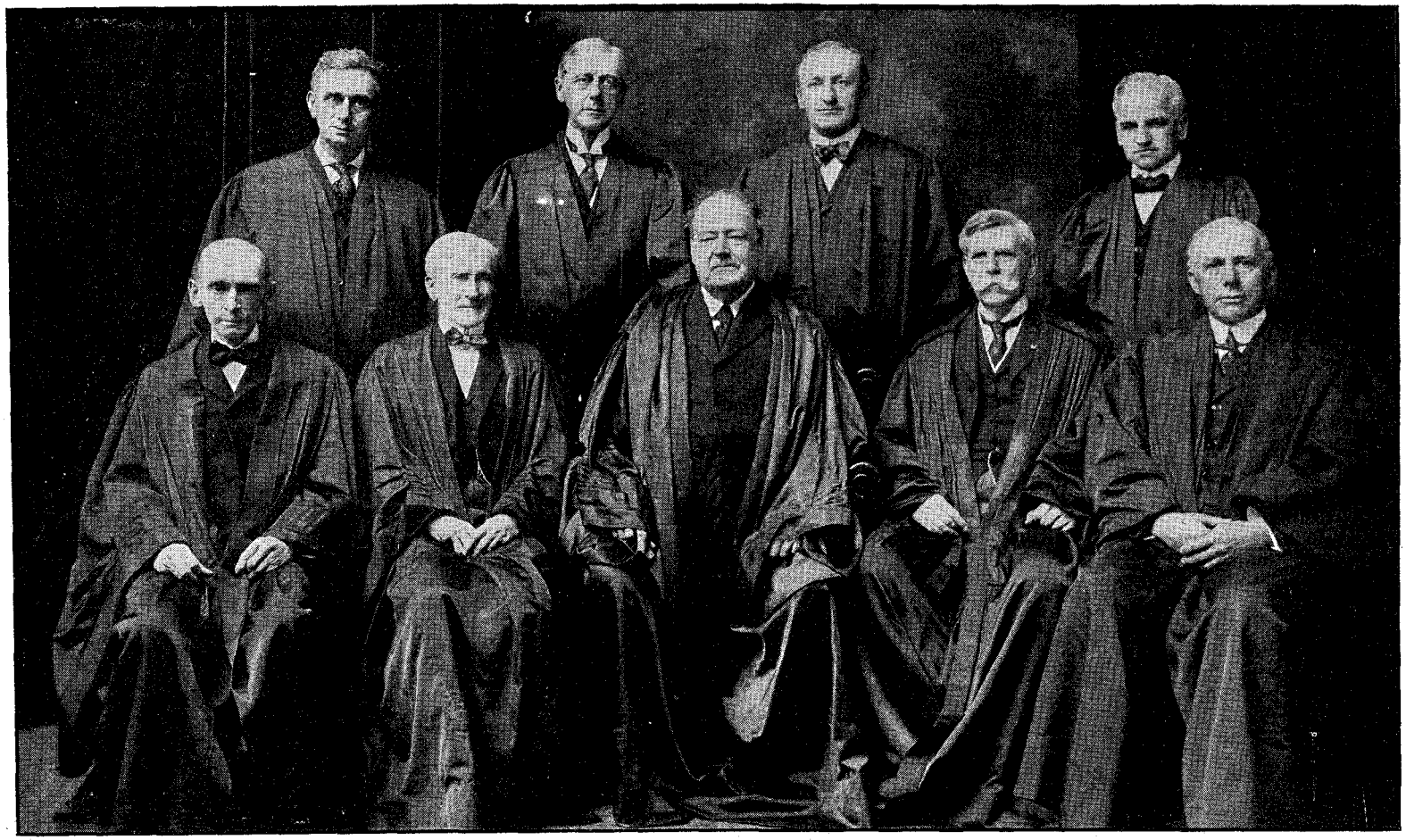

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THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING THE NEW MEMBERS

In the front row, left to right, are: Justice Day; Justice McKenna; Chief Justice White; Justice Holmes; Justice Van Devanter. In the back row, left to right: Justice Brandeis (one of the new appointees); Justice Pitney; Justice McReynolds; Justice Clarke (the most recently appointed member of the Court).

The seating of the Justices is regulated by the time of service on the bench, the oldest member of the Court taking the seat to the right of the Chief Justice and the next oldest the one to his left, as shown in this diagram, the figures showing the order of appointment:

		Brandeis (7)		Pitney (5)		McReynolds (6)		Clarke (8)
Day (3)		McKenna (1)		—White—		Holmes (2)		Van Devanter (4)

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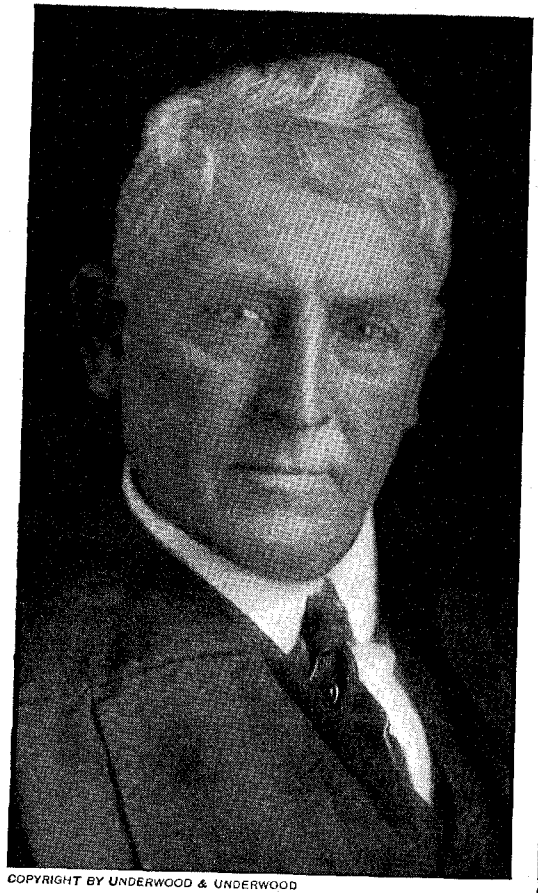

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J. ALDEN WEIR

President of the National Academy of Design

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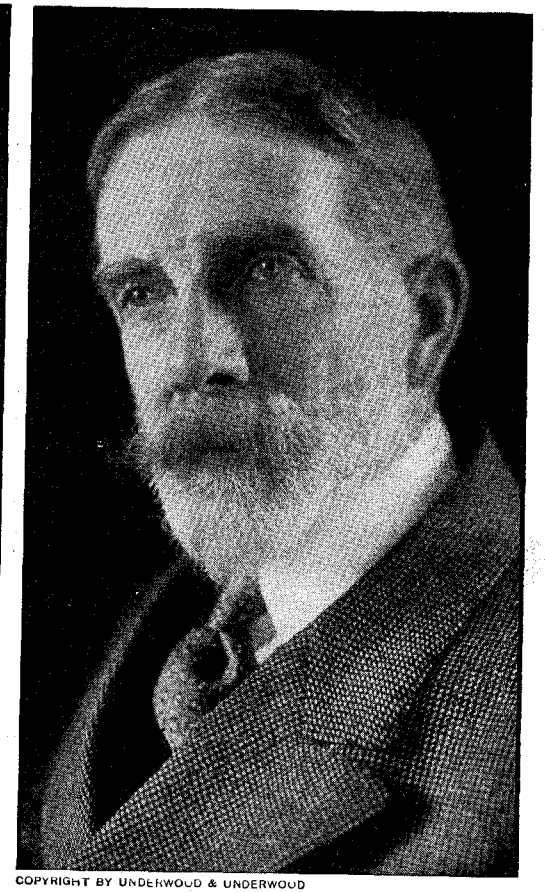
WILLIAM M. KENDALL

Architect; member of firm of McKim, Mead & White



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CHARLES A. PLATT

Architect and Landscape Gardener

NEWLY APPOINTED MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

President Wilson has recently selected these three eminent men as members of the Commission of seven (which was instituted by Executive order in the Roosevelt Administration and is now established by law), whose function it is to decide upon the selection of statues, monuments, public buildings, and other architectural and sculptural features of the City of *Washington*, the *District of Columbia*, and structures erected by the Federal Government throughout the United States. Congress and the Administration in a recent case—that of the Federal lighting and heating plant—have ignored the recommendation of this Commission; but the Commission nevertheless serves as a means for giving disinterested advice and centering public opinion upon the important subject of public art in this country

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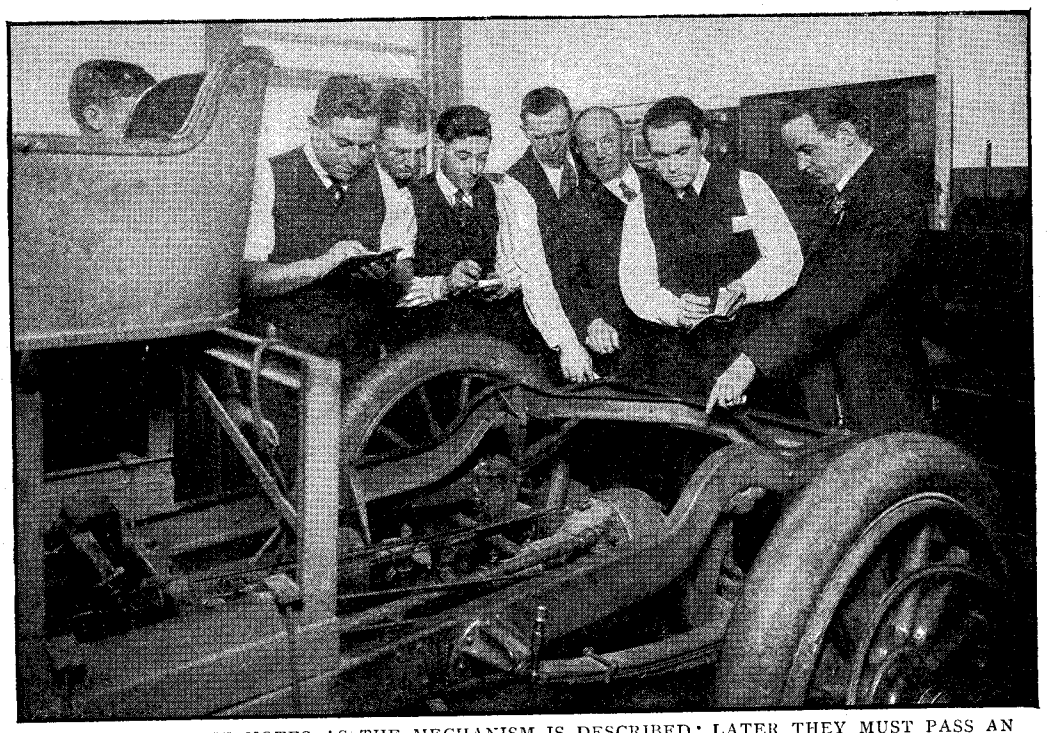

THE PUPILS TAKE NOTES AS THE MECHANISM IS DESCRIBED; LATER THEY MUST PASS AN EXAMINATION TO TEST THEIR KNOWLEDGE

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

A MAGNETO LESSON—EACH PART OF THE AUTOMOBILE IS THOROUGHLY STUDIED, WITH THE MECHANISM ITSELF BEFORE THE CLASS

The work illustrated is conducted by the West Side branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York. This school is said to be the largest of its kind in the world

A SCHOOL FOR CHAUFFEURS AND AUTOMOBILE OWNERS IN NEW YORK—ONE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE Y. M. C. A.

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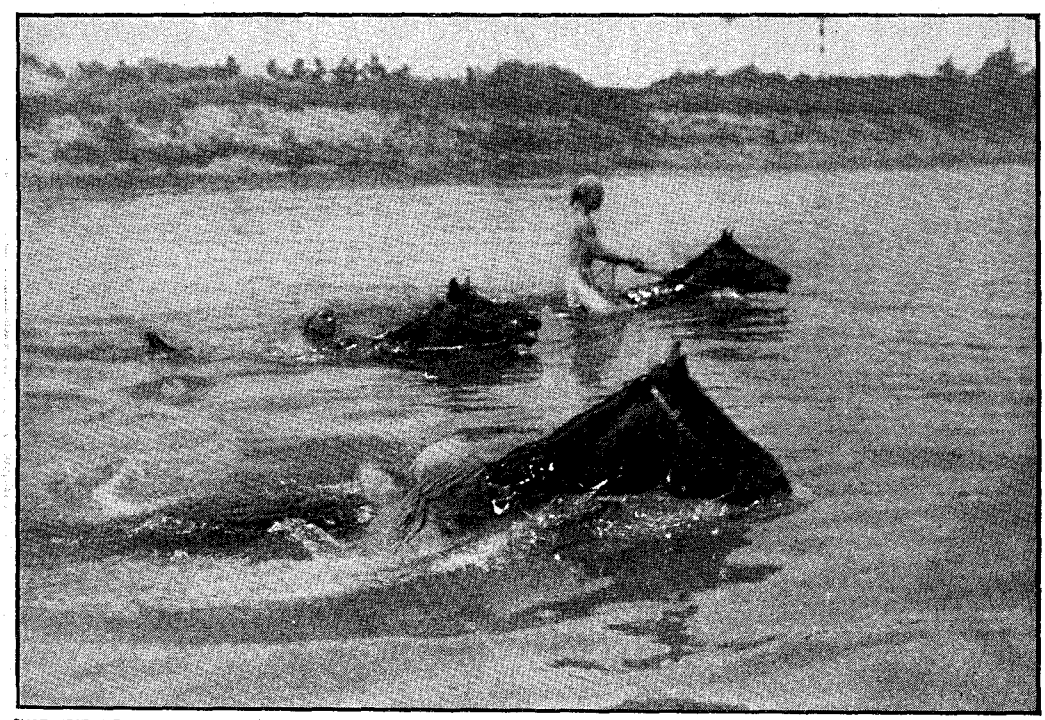
A SHRINE DEDICATED TO THE LATE GENERAL NOGI, ONE OF THE GREATEST GENERALS IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

General Nogi's greatest achievement was the capture of Port Arthur and the destruction of the Russian fleet lying in the harbor there. He is one of Japan's foremost heroes. The shrine has just been completed. The picture shows the main entrance



PHOTOGRAPHS FROM BAIN NEWS SERVICE

EXERCISES OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD—SWIMMING HORSES ACROSS THE RIVER TAMA

JAPAN'S MARTIAL SPIRIT—HONORS TO THE DEAD AND PREPAREDNESS ON THE PART OF THE LIVING

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

A HEROIC FRENCHWOMAN

Amélie Rigard, whose religious name is Sister Julie, was the Mother Superior of a hospital of the Order of Saint Charles of Nancy, at Gerbéviller, France. When the Germans came to this little village, they burned all the houses up to her door—475 in all. They did not burn the rest, because Sister Julie stopped them. Nor did they molest the wounded soldiers whom she was nursing, nor the sisters who helped her, though many civilians had been shot down. General Castelnau cited her heroic conduct in an Order of the Day; the President of France, the Premier, Senators, and other distinguished men have visited her amid the ruins of her little village; and she has now received the high distinction of being decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor

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the reply of a Mexican woman to the question, "Does it rain here in summer as much as it does in winter?" The reply was:

"*No hay reglas fijas, señor.*" (There are no fixed rules.)

There are no fixed rules about anything in Mexico.

To make the lot of the investigator harder, if it be known that he intends to publish the result of his researches, he will be attended during his stay in the land of Carranza by agents of the Government and agents of the opposition, who vie with each other for the privilege of giving him their own particular explanation of everything he sees. In addition, spies of the various factions—or *juntas*, as they love to call them in Mexico—are constantly hovering in his wake. It makes the investigator feel exactly as if he were a promising freshman and the college fraternity rushing season were in full swing.

His difficulties are increased by the fact that in no country of like size in the world is there less tabulated and collated information than in Mexico. Many persons can be found who will gladly supply pages of statistics on any subject desired if given barely time enough to put them on paper. But reasonably trustworthy business information on such important and familiar subjects as mining, cattle-raising, or the ownership of land is almost impossible to find. This is partly due to the inevitable disorder of six years of revolution; it is much more due to inherent traits in Mexican character directly antipodal to German precision, willingness to take pains, and love of method.

Even the foreigners in Mexico seem to be contaminated with the native unreliability, and on political events those who have been in the country for some length of time have lost much of their perspective.

Thus the rare man in Mexico who really wants to learn the truth and who has no ax to grind and no preconceived political opinions to prove must rely mainly on personal observation and experience, on the personal observation and experience of those informants who, in his judgment, are the least unreliable among a host of persons willing to misinform him, and on the use of such few facts so well established that they are undisputed even in Mexico.

It is now thirteen months since President Wilson recognized Venustiano Carranza as the titular head of the *de facto* Government of Mexico. Before that Carranza was in the public eye for two years and a half. It is now not unfair, it seems, to check up Carranza's accomplishments with his promises, to weigh his record, and ask ourselves what it augurs for the future.

In general, the debit side of the First Chief's slate is better known than the credit side.

The public knows that Mexico is still chaotic, that brigandage still flourishes, that Villa, Zapata, and Felix Diaz still form serious menaces to the security of the *de facto* Government. The public has heard of the epidemic of typhus, and knows something about the worn-out state of the railways and the exhausted condition of the nation's finances.

The exact extent of any of these evils cannot be stated by any one, because the extent of them is constantly fluctuating. At one time during my stay in Mexico it was possible to cross the Isthmus of Tehuantepec by rail, at another time it was not. At one time it was possible to make the railway journey from Mexico City to Oaxaca, the capital of the State of the same name, but later the road was cut by revolutionists—that is, enemies of Carranza. (The Carranzistas still call themselves revolutionists, although their enemies seem to have a better right to the appellation in fact, but in Mexico nowadays your own side is always "revolutionary" and your enemy's course is always "reactionary.")

Before undertaking any journey in Mexico to-day you must get the very latest report as to the activity of bandits in the zone through which you purpose traveling. If bandits have just attacked a train on the line which you intend to take, it is quite safe; for, like lightning, bandits never strike twice in succession in the same place. For instance, the day before I left Vera Cruz for Mexico City Zapatistas had blown up the through train between the same points and killed several people, wherefore on the following day travel was deemed to be entirely safe, and persons who had been waiting about Vera Cruz for weeks considered that day a favorable occasion to depart.

The public attitude toward such affairs is curious. The Mexicans have a sort of special code for judging such things, backed, like international law, only by the force of public opinion. So long as the activities of bandits are confined to interference with military movements and to attacks on Government officials and Government troops, the

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public is inclined to wish them well, for in Mexico the majority of the people are always against whatever Government is in power. But on the particular occasion just referred to the chief bomber of the bandits carelessly blew up a day coach and killed several women, instead of destroying the car carrying the military guard which attends every train in Mexico to-day. The result was that people condemned the Zapatistas fervently and the Morelos chieftain lost many civilian adherents by that misplay.

No doubt the Zapatistas have little hope of gaining control of any considerable part of the Republic, although the Villistas probably and the Felicistas (followers of Felix Diaz) certainly are more ambitious. But the majority of such acts of lawlessness have behind them principally—when robbery is not intended—the motive to discredit the Government.

Certainly in this purpose Zapata is fairly successful. Certainly it is discreditable to Carranza that to-day, when his recognized rule has extended more than a year, it is unsafe for residents of Mexico City to visit most suburbs twenty miles from the capital, and to visit some at the very gates of the city. While I was in the capital there were skirmishes between Government soldiers and bandits within ten miles of the national palace, and one night the "Zaps" were with difficulty prevented from seizing and holding the bull ring, which they considered an admirable base for further raids, and which is within the city limits and less than two miles from the home of the First Chief, in the very center of the town. And for four days there was a pitched battle between Government soldiers and followers of the ubiquitous and perennial pest, Zapata, at Xochimilco, the site of the city's water works. Every few weeks, in fact, the citizens of Mexico City arise in the morning to find the water pipes empty and bathing impossible. Then they remark, wearily, "Well, the Zaps are at it again."

As to starvation and disease, the truth lies about half-way between the optimistic bulletins of Carranza's highly developed system of press agencies and the gloomy reports of enemies of the Government. The epidemic of typhus, or "tifo," as they call it in Mexico, is very serious. Always worst in the winter, it promises soon to be even more a matter of public concern than it was last winter, when thousands of persons died of it. When I left Mexico City, about a hundred new cases were being reported daily in Mexico City alone, and some other cities, including Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes, were reported to be more seriously afflicted. The half-starved and the starving elements in the population are easy preys to the disease, and the efforts at sanitation taken by the Government have not been very effective.

The most pathetic starvation is not visible. The miserable, ragged, diseased beggars who arouse the pity of tourists are nothing new in Mexico. Members of the lowest class in Mexican society, moreover, do not suffer so much as might be supposed, because for them there is always begging or enlistment in the army as a last resort. The most genuine and the most pathetic suffering in Mexico to-day is among the lower middle class. Young women in business who were getting salaries of ninety pesos a month when two pesos meant a dollar are at the end of their rope with two hundred pesos a month when a dollar means fifty pesos. Clerks, railway men, salaried people generally, are hard hit. The men of this class do not often care to join the army and the women cannot. Many of them are too proud to beg. They are the people who are the greatest sufferers in Mexico.

A trying aspect of this starvation is that the people are starving in the midst of plenty. This year the crops have been unusually bountiful, but the prices of food are enormous. A keg holding one hundred kilos of beans costs 420 pesos. Milk is two or three pesos a quart. A dish of ham and eggs in a third-rate restaurant costs five or six pesos. These prices are nothing for those who are paid in real money, but, of course, ninety-five per cent of the salaries in the country are paid in Carranza paper. There are two kinds of this paper in issue at present. The latest issue, which is called *infalsificables* (uncounterfeitable), is circulated at the rate of fifty pesos for one American dollar, but the rate is increasing daily, and within a week a dollar may be worth seventy-five pesos. The other money, known as the Vera Cruz issue, is only one-tenth as valuable—that is to say, with an American dollar you can buy five hundred pesos in this paper. It is something of a shock to the newcomer to give a beggar five pesos and then realize that he has given him only a cent. Thanks to this grotesque monetary situation, living in Mexico was absurdly cheap for a while for any one whose salary was paid in foreign cur-

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rency. For instance, not long ago one could live for four days at the best hotel in Mexico for one dollar gold, and the thirty-six-hour trip from Mexico City to Laredo cost less than three dollars, including Pullman. Many amusing stories are told as the result of this anomalous state of affairs. An American famous for his chronic impecuniosity, by reason of this condition remained behind in Mexico City, while his friends went to Vera Cruz on some gala occasion. But when the penniless American turned up in Vera Cruz a day or two later and his astonished friends asked him the explanation he remarked, "Oh, it's very simple; I just bought seventy-five cents' worth of hundred-dollar bills and came on down." To-day, however, the prices at all stores are on a gold basis, which makes living still more difficult for the natives.

Another reason why there is starvation in a year of abundant crops is that the facilities for transferring the grain from one part of the country to another are very inadequate. In this respect Mexico is like Russia a year ago, when people were suffering in Petrograd and Moscow from a scarcity of sugar and flour caused by a lack of trains to bring up the abundant stores of these commodities from southern Russia. In fact, in many ways a traveler who was in Russia a year ago is reminded of that country if he visits Mexico to-day. Russia is ruled by a Government admittedly autocratic; Mexico, by a Government boastfully revolutionary. Yet in point of the evils from which both nations suffer, there are some surprising resemblances. In both countries the majority of the people are illiterate. In both countries the only form of government that has been successful is a dictatorship or an oligarchy. In both countries the rich are intemperately rich and the poor are miserably poor. In both countries are the the same unnecessary and petty, but in the mass serious, annoyances, such as the necessity of standing in line for hours to buy a railway ticket unless one has the necessary influence to get in by the back door. Finally, both countries, Russia in a lesser and Mexico in a greater degree, suffer from governmental inefficiency and the taint of corruption which runs from the smallest officials to the highest.

So much for the dark side of Carranza's Government. The bright side is brighter than the general public knows. In the first place, the very fact that Carranza has been able to call himself the recognized head of Mexico for more than a year is no small accomplishment in itself. Since Huerta, none of the five rulers of Mexico has stayed in the saddle as long as Carranza. For thirteen months his immediate downfall has been predicted and is being predicted as this issue of The Outlook goes to press; but the slow, quiet, somewhat overdignified Carranza is still called First Chief.

In the second place, Carranza has pretty well pacified a good deal of the country, and the pacification of Mexico would be no easy task for any one. Men who left their corn-hoeing to adopt the more lucrative, more picturesque, and more exciting calling of bandit are not willingly going back to hoeing corn. Moreover, there are particular reasons in Mexico why the path of the bandit is easy. The first reason is the already-mentioned disposition of the Mexican people to look favorably on all enemies of the Government; the second reason is that it is never difficult for a Mexican bandit to get ammunition from the United States. The charge of Mexicans that the United States laws against filibustering are not rigidly enforced has more truth in it than official Americans care to admit. In this connection Mr. Candido Aguilar, Secretary of Foreign Relations, said to me:

"The bandits in the field against Carranza seem to have plenty of ammunition, and as they could get it from nowhere but the United States the inference is plain that unscrupulous American interests are helping to strengthen the arm of the lawless in Mexico. It is inconsistent that they should do this privately and then publicly attack Carranza for not more speedily restoring order."

In the way of rebuilding Mexico Carranza has done more than is generally known. One of the most important reforms already effected is the abolition of the old *jefes politicos*, who were virtually czars appointed by the President to rule provincial districts, and the substitution of a form of self-government for towns. Municipal elections have recently been held, and to-day wherever Carranza's power is recognized in Mexico towns are governed by their own elected mayors and municipal councils. Of course these recent elections were farcical, as elections have always been in Mexico; still, on the whole, the new form of local government has fewer evils than the old. The judicial system of the country has been reorganized and Federal judges appointed for every State, and a national commission has been created for the study of agricultural problems, with sub-committees in each State. The abuses emanating from

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what was formerly a deeply intrenched and mainly corrupt ecclesiastical hierarchy have been largely eliminated. On the other hand, the Constitutionalists themselves have sometimes abused their own power in curbing the Church. But this is in considerable degree the swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme, something which happens in every revolution. On the whole, Carranza's policy towards the Church has been just and well intended. There have been some cases, no doubt, although I cannot personally vouch for them, of atrocities against the persons of priests and nuns committed by Constitutionalists. No civilized man would defend such acts. On the other hand, under the Constitution of the nation convents, monasteries, nunneries, and all religious orders have been illegal in Mexico since 1859, and have existed in disregard of the law.

The best thing Carranza has done has been the foundation of schools. Diaz did a good deal for Mexico, but, while he developed the country's material resources, he neglected the development of its human resources. But Carranza has given his particular attention to the educational programme, and to help him he has had the advice of two of the ablest men in Mexico, Señor Felix Palavicini, recently Secretary of Public Instruction, and Señor Andres Osuna, Director of Public Instruction, who will probably succeed to the position left empty by Palavicini. In the State of Yucatan alone more than one thousand schools have been founded.

Speaking of the work of reconstruction, General Pablo Gonzales said to me:

"We may agree that this work has been somewhat disconnected and even violent, but nothing else could be expected of the beginnings of a new government which has to solve different problems as they present themselves, and which at the same time has to rule over those who are living in peace and to keep up the military campaigns against those who are fighting it."

"What are the principal problems of reconstruction still to be solved?" I asked General Gonzales.

"As the Constitutionalist Government has squarely faced all the needs of the nation," he said, "all the problems have been studied and solved, and we lack only certain details in order to have them completely solved. There is a certain lack of harmony in the different opinions in regard to the land question, but undoubtedly some kind of agreement will be reached, and we shall then have the definite pattern legally adopted to solve all the details of the land question. We still have the financial problem. But, fortunately, the great natural resources of Mexico and the great improvement that will surely come as the country gets reorganized will be strong factors for the proper solution of this problem."

Yes, indeed, Mexico still has the financial problem. It is that problem principally which is likely to swamp the Carranza Government.

With money efficiently used, bandits can be subdued or bought over, disease can be checked, starvation can be stopped, railways and factories can be rebuilt. Give Carranza two hundred million dollars in gold, and he can probably put the country in order and gradually establish the Government on a civil and constitutional basis. The only Government that Mexico can establish for itself is a dictatorship, and Carranza appears to me about as well qualified to be dictator as any one in view in Mexico to-day.

Carranza is not brilliant, he is not spectacular, but he is far from stupid. He has the slow, "plugging" type of mind. Any one who to-day looks at the Plan of Guadalupe must admit that Carranza has advanced a long way toward the fulfillment of the tasks which he set for himself at the beginning of the revolution.

Carranza's best assets are his dogged determination and confidence in himself and his ability to handle men according to his own peculiar way. The subordinates who have opposed him have been gradually but surely eliminated. For instance, some months ago one of Carranza's generals confiscated a mansion in Mexico City. The First Chief sent him a written order to vacate it. The officer's reply was a string of profane and obscene insults written on the back of the order, which was returned to Carranza. The First Chief apparently did nothing to punish this insubordination. He even allowed the order, with the insulting reply uppermost, to remain on his desk where his visitors could see it and gain something of an idea of the trials with which the First Chief was faced. But to-day that general has gone, and no one can tell you his whereabouts.

The men around Carranza are an interesting lot. They fall into two totally dissimilar groups. As members of his Cabinet and as his immediate advisers he has gathered about him men of surprising polish, suavity, intelli-

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gence, and ability. They are mostly young men, some of them college graduates, some of them self-taught, but all of them thinkers. They are the intellectual leaders of the revolution. But from these men in their offices in the administration buildings it is only a block or two to the gaudy, noisy cafés, where the fighting, fire-eating Indian generals, the bulldogs of the army, spend their leisure hours. How Carranza has held together two such different and, in fact, antagonistic elements only he knows, but the accomplishment is a testimonial to his qualities as a leader.

But as a leader Carranza is weakest in the management of financial affairs. The statements which he made to me in regard to his economic policies did not improve my opinion of him in this respect.

After declaring emphatically that under no circumstances could Mexico brook the cooperation of a foreign commission of financial experts in the administration of a foreign loan to be directed for the work of reconstruction, he said:

"We would not even put up any of the resources of the country, such as customs duties, for instance, as collateral for such a loan. The lenders would have to be satisfied with the word and credit of the national Government of Mexico."

Another remark made by the First Chief indicated that his understanding of financial problems was rather limited. When asked what he intended to do towards settling the claims of foreigners for injuries to their investments in Mexico, he said: "Of course many such claims are false. But in regard to the other ones, my answer is this: There are no foreign investments in Mexico."

"What is that?"

"I say there are no foreign investments in Mexico, because for every million dollars that foreigners have put into Mexico they have taken out two or three millions. So really there are no foreign investments in Mexico." He laughed genially at his own humor and slapped his thighs. But as my blank expression indicated that I still doubted if I had heard aright, he repeated his statement with slow emphasis, and then added:

"Of course there are still businesses in Mexico which were started by foreign capital, and the dividends of the stockholders of these enterprises will not be interfered with."

"Do you contemplate Government ownership of public utilities, General Carranza?"

"No; Mexico is not strong enough for that yet. We must rely on private capital; but foreign capital must take the same treatment as native."

In conclusion, to sum up my impressions in answer to the question, "Will the Government of Carranza last?" this may be said:

Carranza is more efficient and more honest than any man who has held the supreme power in Mexico since Madero, and on the whole his followers are a better lot than the followers of any Mexican leader since Madero. Carranza can hold out if he can get money. Without foreign financial support he has a small chance of keeping his head above water and of eventually getting his feet on firm land, but only a small chance. It is worth noting that no administration in Mexican history has ever stood long without foreign support, and, in particular, without the support of the United States.

Carranza can get a foreign loan if he will give the foreign bankers guarantees of security to their satisfaction. Mexico is so bankrupt and has repudiated so many obligations that a banker would be insane to lend money to Mexico without getting unusually strong guarantees—guarantees which might include an agreement that the administration of the loan should be audited by a foreign commission to see that the money should actually be spent for reconstruction and not for Italian limousines or other Mexican follies.

In short, Carranza can be saved if he can get money. He can get money if he will swallow his pride. Will he swallow his pride? Probably even Carranza does not know.

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DOES CARRANZA TOLERATE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE?

A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YUCATAN

THE article "The Church of Mexico," in your issue of September 5, deals with the religious issue in reference to the New London Conference, and also a pamphlet issued by the President of the Mexican Commission, Señor Luis Cabrera.

Outside of the quotations made from Señor Luis Cabrera by The Outlook and a passing reference to them in the Havana papers, very little has been said about the Mexican religious question in the public press. As this question involves the equal rights of all men and fundamental principles of government, I trust the other side of the question coming from an exiled Mexican bishop will be of interest to your readers and to all fair-minded American citizens.

There are two statements of Señor Cabrera to which I would call particular attention, namely:

First, that the Constitutionalists have not persecuted the Church, and if any outrages were committed against the Catholic Church they were [in the words of Señor Cabrera] "the deeds not of the Constitutionalists, but of bandits, who have sprung up from the disorganized condition;"

Second, that the Constitutionalists guarantee the most complete liberty of conscience and public worship under the Constitutional principles called Laws of the Reform.

As Archbishop of Yucatan, Mexico, it is to be presumed that I am acquainted with the recent happenings in that diocese, although at present an exile in the hospitable city of Havana.

Yucatan is one of the most peaceful and prosperous States of the Mexican Republic. It was not cursed with Villistas nor Zapatistas, or any of their ilk, and now for a year and a half it has been under the actual government of a Carranza appointee. It is almost impossible to believe what the Church has had to suffer in Yucatan. In October of 1914, under the pretext that they were foreigners, over fifty priests were exiled. At the same time a decree was issued, under governmental authority, abbreviating in an arbitrary way all religious acts and ceremonies. A short time afterwards I was turned out of my episcopal residence, which for more than three hundred years has been the peaceful abode of the bishops of the diocese. In September of 1915 the Cathedral was attacked by a mob of Constitutionalists headed by American Anarchists, who destroyed the ornaments of the church, stole what they could, and did not even hesitate to profane the holy Eucharist. Not only were these criminal acts ignored by the authorities, but it is a matter of record that some of the despoilers were in the employment of the Constitutionalist Government. Since these outrages occurred the Cathedral of Yucatan, erected in the sixteenth century, and recognized by modern architects as one of the most artistic edifices in America, has been taken over by the *de facto* Government. What would an American tourist think of the veracity of Señor Cabrera's first statement, that "the Constitutionalists have not persecuted the Church," if he stepped into this Cathedral to-day, to find that its pews and confessionals, which were constructed of rare woods, had been carted away by Carranzista soldiers to serve as firewood; that the Stations of the Cross and various other pictures had been defiled; that its marble altars had been demolished; and that the bare walls of this temple erected to the honor and glory of God look down upon a scene of wanton devastation that would make sad even the heart of an educated pagan. If the Cathedral was treated in this manner, let my readers judge how the other churches of my diocese have suffered at the hands of these champions of liberty and justice! Two of the churches of my diocese have been converted by Carranzista followers into peddlers' stalls for the sale of merchandise. Another has been given to young men to serve as their gymnasium, while the fourth has been handed over to Freemasons to serve as a lodge hall. I will not stop to comment upon these outrages. I am stating facts to which I challenge contradiction.

On the 1st of May of this year all the churches of Merida, which hithertó had remained unsacked, were one by one attacked by a mob of Carranzistas, who, amid the mocking ringing of the church bells, marched from church to church, burning and destroying as they went. When it is known that this vandalism began at ten o'clock in the morning and did not end until ten o'clock in

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the evening, without any interference by local authorities save the warning to Catholic groups that they should not interfere, how can one say that it was not under governmental supervision? It is hardly necessary to add to the above chronicle that whatever of value was to be found in gold or silver plate was stolen by the most powerful. During these days the priests of my diocese were subject to every indignity and those who were not exiled were held in durance more vile than even slavery or death.

On one Sunday of last May there was not a church in my diocese open for the worship of Almighty God. Yielding to the protests of many of the people, and to representations made by some people of authority, the governor finally allowed four churches to be opened on the 19th of May, but those out in the country remained closed, and the priests were positively forbidden to go out of the city and to attend to services in country places.

Previous to the present troubles in Mexico the diocese of Yucatan had an ecclesiastical seminary, an academy, a training-school, two academies for girls, and more than thirty Catholic free schools, where more than five thousand children received an education similar to that being given to Catholic children in the United States. Under the present régime of Carranzista authority in Yucatan all these educational facilities have been closed, the buildings and furniture have been seized, while the sisters and lay teachers who conducted them have been obliged to flee for their lives.

Can you not, Mr. Editor, and you, gentle reader, imagine the desolation of my soul in having to stand by helplessly while all these dastardly deeds have been perpetrated in the name of liberty and justice? Some of these institutions were the pride of my diocese for centuries. They were built up by the sweat and blood of our ancestors, and my people, my clergy, and I labored together for fourteen years to continue the good work—now only to see it all leveled to the ground by men of Mexican blood who are standing forth to-day as champions of equal rights to all men. Imagine my desolation when I think of the 270,000 Catholic people of the diocese of Yucatan, divided into forty-five parishes, left without churches in which they might worship God or schools in which their children might be educated in the faith of their fathers! True, there are schools maintained by the Government in my diocese at present, but the parents of the children are obliged to send them to these governmental institutions, where the teachers are instructed to stifle and eradicate any vestiges of religion that our own schools hitherto sought to implant. Oh, liberty of conscience, what crimes are being committed in thy name in Mexico! Our Mexico!

I have gone into detail only about my own diocese of Yucatan because of the personal knowledge which I have of its conditions. I am able to state, however, that throughout the Republic this religious persecution is more or less violent according to local conditions and according to the different characters of the local military commanders.

In all fairness, I am glad to state that none of my priests were murdered nor our nuns outraged, but I cannot say this for all the other dioceses. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, I know it to be a fact that nuns have been ravished and priests have been murdered under the benevolent government of Señor Venustiano Carranza.

The limits of this letter do not permit me to enter into many details, but he who wishes to know them can find them accurately exposed in "The Book of Red and Yellow," written by the Rt. Rev. Francis C. Kelley, D.D., President of the Catholic Church Extension Society, whose headquarters are in the city of Chicago, Illinois. In view of all this, how can any one declare that Mexico has not suffered religious persecution, or that this persecution is due only to elements which are foreign to the Constitutionalists?

Señor Cabrera's second statement, that "the Constitutionalists guarantee the most complete liberty of conscience and of public worship under the Constitutional principles called Laws of the Reform," contains a promise which ought to console the oppressed heart of all Mexicans. Although this statement has the authority of the *de facto* Government, where is there any evidence of its being put into practice? They are not new promises; they have been made before, but "by their fruits shall you know them." Were not these promises given in Washington by Carranza's Ambassador, Señor Arredondo, many months ago? and yet most of the outrages committed in my diocese have been perpetrated since this proclamation of religious freedom.

Señor Cabrera not only tries to absolve his party from the blame of religious persecution, but endeavors to throw the fault upon the

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shoulders of the clergy, charging that they have meddled in politics. To his statement I reply that it is false that the clergy as a class have mixed in politics. As Bishop of the ecclesiastical province which embraces the States of Yucatan, Campeche, and Tabasco, I can state that the clergy as a class have abstained from every kind of politics; but if one did so meddle here or there, it was without my knowledge. If in any other part of the Republic, they were only isolated cases. In Mexico a priest has the same right to vote and mix in political matters as any other citizen, but ecclesiastical restrictions forbid him to hold any civil office. Any priest who would violate the ecclesiastical provision would naturally be subject to ecclesiastical censure; but what right would the civil law have to punish the clergy as a class for the indiscreet political actions of a few of its members, especially when there was no provision in the law of the land for the punishing of any such pseudo-violation? Why follow such illegal punishment by closing Catholic schools, molesting innocent nuns, and depriving the faithful of their houses of worship—the faithful who, according to Señor Cabrera, comprise ninety-nine per cent of the population of the country? Suppose a governor of one of the United States were to attempt to throw into jail some of the ministers of religion who mingled in politics? Suppose he went further and attempted to close the church in which these ministers of religion held forth? How long would the people of the United States, of any denomination whatsoever, stand for such an outrage? It is such a brand of liberty of conscience and freedom of public worship that Señor Cabrera's Government has given the Church in Mexico since it has been in power. What can we expect from it in the future? "By their fruits you shall know them."

Looking into the future for a solution of the religious problem, which for more than fifty years has distressed our beloved Mexico, as an archbishop of that unhappy country, I am entirely in accord with the platform proposed by the Catholics of your great country, the United States, who in their convention of federated societies at New York recently reiterated the fundamental principles upon which the Constitution of the United States is founded—"Freedom of conscience and liberty of worship to all men equally." In order to be more explicit, and to be put on record, if it is so desired, I am not afraid to express the great hope of the clergy and Catholic people of Mexico in the following propositions:

First, we do not ask to have restored the ancient union between the Church and State which was abrogated in the year 1857.

Second, we do not intend to attempt to restore "temporal power," as is attributed to us by Senor Cabrera.

Third, as an interpreter of the wishes of all Mexican bishops, which are well known to me, I can state that we do not ask the restoration of the property seized by Juarez from the Church; but, on the contrary, all Mexican bishops would be ready, upon the request of the Holy See, to relinquish any claims that they may have in order to avoid any trouble with public authority and bring about a lasting peace to our people and our country.

We do not ask any class privileges or special laws in our favor. On the contrary, we ask only the inalienable right of every man to worship God as his conscience dictates. Our idea of liberty of conscience is the same as that found in the laws of the United States, which gives to the individual the privilege to worship in whatsoever church he pleases; the right to educate his children in a public or private school; the choosing of the ministry as a vocation if a man so desires; and a protection for him in his calling as long as he does not violate the laws of the land in which he lives.

We demand that all public officials respect the belief of the clergy and people, of whatsoever denomination they may be, and that as long as the Church is not allowed to interfere in matters of State, so the State will not interfere in ecclesiastical matters.

We demand the right of educating the children of Catholics in Mexico in accordance with our religious belief, and, even though the law of the land compels us to contribute to the support of public schools, yet we maintain the right to be permitted to found and support our own private schools where our children may be educated in the religion of their fathers.

We demand the restoration of all the church property of which we were recently deprived, and the right of possessing and holding title to our churches, homes, seminaries, schools, and all other ecclesiastical institutions necessary for the upbuilding of the Church.

In a word, we ask only for liberty and justice—those two great privileges which all lovers of equality demand as the fundamental

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right of human existence. What American citizen would be content with less?

In conclusion, let me assure Señor Cabrera and his employers that no form of government can be built up in Mexico, or in any other country, that is not grounded upon equal rights to all men. The God of justice still rules the universe, and the prayers of his exiled Mexican children will some day be heard. The day will come when the Mexican Government, in whosesoever hands it may be, will grant liberty of conscience and freedom of public worship to all the children of the land. We are willing to forget all the injustice of the past, but we stand steadfast for the principles of Mexico's liberty as laid down in the Constitution of 1857.

Hoping, Mr. Editor, that you will give the same publicity to this statement of "the other side of the Mexican religious question" as you have given to that of Señor Cabrera, believe me, sincerely your servant,

MARTIN TRITSCHLER Y CORDOVA,
Archbishop of Yucatan.

CARTOONS AND CARICATURES IN WAR TIME

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

WHEN the American opens his morning paper, he is apt to find in some prominent place a cartoon or caricature relating to the war. He does not perhaps realize that the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, and not improbably the Italian and the Russian, have a similar experience. While the war with guns is being carried on upon European battlefields, another war is being waged by books, pamphlets, articles, and pictures. This second war makes less noise, but produces not less far-reaching effects. Changes in public opinion, when permanent in their character, are quite as important as changes in the map of Europe. Germany may not lose, France may not regain, Alsace and Lorraine, but nothing can give back to Germany that high esteem in which she was held by the civilized world and which she has recklessly thrown away, and nothing can rob France of the esteem in which the whole civilized world holds her for the steadfast loyalty and courage of her people. Those who are interpreting the issues of the war, whether they do so by voice, by pen, or by pencil, are forming a public opinion which will long outlive military operations and even political changes.

This battle of the cartoonists is not new. It is as old as Christendom. Mr. Parton in his history of "Caricature and Other Comic Art"[1] gives illustrations of the use of caricature among the Romans, the Greeks, and the ancient Egyptians. But he gives little evidence that they used it for any moral purpose. Not until Christian inspiration had developed moral earnestness and made it well-nigh universal did it lay hold of the humorous and grotesque in art as a useful instrument.

Phillips Brooks first called my attention to the use of caricature by the Church in the churches. He had the not very common ability to get a large view by looking through a very small window. That Holy Trinity in Boston is what the American Baedeker calls it, the finest church edifice in America, is partly due to his architectural taste. He watched its erection with the greatest interest. He told me once that he discovered that a fresco painter had put in the decoration of the ceiling a burlesque figure, so small that it would escape the ordinary observation from the floor below. It was painted out before the scaffolding was taken down. But in this incident Dr. Brooks found an interpretation of ancient ecclesiastical architecture. The ecclesiastics, he said, have seen in the gargoyles a symbol; they were thought to represent the evil spirits driven out of the Church by the divine grace within. But he thought it more probable that they were simply the naïve expression of the humor of the workman at an epoch which had no funny papers and no comic art. This view is borne out by James Parton. How else, for example, can we understand the

[1] "Caricature and Other Comic Art in All Times and Many Lands," by James Parton. With 203 Illustrations. Harper & Brothers, 1877.

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figures in some of the capitals in the Strassburg Cathedral (A.D. 1300)? In two of these groups animals are depicted performing the orthodox religious ceremonies: in one a rabbit or hare is performing priestly devotions at an altar on which is the sacramental cup, while near by stands another at a reading-desk with the open book of devotion before him; in another group a religious procession of the same animals is depicted in stone, one carrying a miter, a second the cross, while others follow in grotesque attitudes.

In these cases it is safe to say that there was no intention to ridicule the religious services of the cathedral. The true explanation is probably that given by one of the early Fathers of the Church, who defends such humor in stone by saying, "This is a frivolity with which to amuse the eyes of the faithful." But the transition from burlesquing the current religious ceremonies to using burlesque to express a real if not a very profound disbelief in the current religious doctrine was both natural and easy. Mr. Parton quotes from "The Champagne Country," by Robert Torres, the author's description of the portraiture in stone of the Last Judgment on one of the portals of the Cathedral at Rheims:

> The trump has sounded and the Lord from a lofty throne is pronouncing doom upon the risen as they are brought up to the judgment seat by the angels. Below him are two rows of the dead just rising from their graves, extending to the full width of the great door. Upon many of the faces there is an expression of amazement, which the artist apparently designed to be comic, and several of the attitudes are extremely absurd and ludicrous. Some have managed to push off the lids of their tombs a little way, and are peeping out through the narrow aperture; others have just got their heads above the surface of the ground, and others are sitting up in their graves; some have one leg out, some are springing into the air, and some are running, as if in wild fright, for their lives. . . . An angel is leading a cheerful company of popes, bishops, and kings toward the Saviour, while a hideous demon, with a mouth stretching from ear to ear, is dragging off a number of the condemned toward the devil, who is seen stirring up a huge caldron boiling and bubbling with naked babies dead before baptism.

It is natural to believe that the artist furnished this semi-humorous picture of the Last Judgment as a counterpoise to the solemn descriptions of it common in the sermons of that day. Certainly this caricature must have had some effect to counteract the fears which the preacher endeavored to arouse, whether such was the artist's intention or not.

At a little later period this intention was perfectly frankly avowed by the caricaturist. In the period of the Reformation caricature was freely and effectually used by both Roman Catholics and Protestants. They both realized that a burlesque is sometimes more effective than an argument, and laughter a more powerful weapon than logic. Luther's claim to speak as God directed him is caricatured by a grotesque figure of the devil speaking through a tube into Luther's ear what Luther is shouting to the people through a trumpet. His marriage was made the theme of a number of caricatures, which evidently had more effect on Luther than all the sober arguments of his enemies or the regret of his quondam friends. "My marriage," he wrote, "has made me so despicable that I hope my humiliation will rejoice the angels and vex the devils"—a mood which did not, however, last very long. Nor were the Protestants less ready with their caricatures, not only of priests and monks, but of the Pope himself. Two of these caricatures are printed by Mr. Parton; in one of them the Pope is portrayed as being cast into hell by grotesque and laughing devils; in the other he is provided with an ass's head crowned by the papal tiara and playing the bagpipes. Underneath is the inscription in German:

> "A long-eared ass can with the bagpipes cope
> As well as with theology the Pope."

The next era of caricature and cartoons—at least as far as the volumes in my library indicate—was the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Apparently the age of conflict is also the age of caricature. As the red-hot iron gives out its sparks under the blow of the hammer, so the mind of the artist seems to need a passionate enthusiasm and the blows of a great contest to produce its greatest scintillations. Both the American and the French Revolutions were characterized by a fertility of pictorial argument, sometimes serious, sometimes satirical or humorous. As one would expect, the French reformer resorted to the pencil more frequently and, I may add, more effectively than the American. Dr. E. F. Henderson in his "Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution" reproduces one hundred and seventy-one of these pictorial argu-

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ments. "My cartoons," he tells the reader, "were photographed direct from the originals —almost all of which are anonymous loose sheets. They are to be found for the most part in the Collection Hennin, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris. Others come from the Musée Carnavalet, and a few I was able to purchase from antiquarians."[1]

In the French Revolution France was suffering from a bad attack of hysteria. But it was at first a hysteria of moral idealism. The epoch affords a striking illustration of the truth that emotionalism uncontrolled by reason is always dangerous. The earlier pictures represent the earlier phases of this Revolution. There are no caricatures, no malice, little humor. The artist at once interprets and inspires the idealism of the nation. Liberty crowning Benjamin Franklin; the King and Necker, his Minister of Finance, united by a double chain emblematical of their united love for the people and emerging from the darkness of the past; a coach drawn by six owls representing wisdom and containing three figures, one representing the clergy as driver, two others representing respectively the nobility and the peasants, symbolizing the union of the three estates, proceeding harmoniously to Versailles; Necker borne aloft by the Duc d'Orléans and Lafayette and trampling upon the chains which symbolize the slavery from which the people are emancipated; France as a mother teaching her two children to clasp hands as a symbol of the new spirit of fraternity—indicate the general character of the pictures of the first year of the Revolution. As this beautiful dream disappears and the conflict between the people and the nobility deepens, the pictures change in character. The priesthood are made the subjects of bitter caricature. Mirabeau's measure for the confiscation of the estates of the Church is gleefully welcomed by satirical pictures. One represents a fat priest assailed by two merry highwaymen; a second pictures a priest literally reduced to a skeleton coming as a suppliant to representatives of the nobility and army; a third portrays a fat priest in a press operated by two men, the gold dropping out of his mouth, while two lean companions are walking away in the distance, and a fourth fat priest is being brought up to take his place in the press.

There is, however, but little humor in these caricatures. The nation is too bitter against its oppressors, and especially against the King and the Queen, who have played the part of pretended friends only that they might deceive the people. A caricature to be humorous must have some *vraisemblance*, and that quality these caricatures lack. They are not arguments to win an opponent or to arouse the indifferent; they are taunts to wound a foe. Marie Antoinette is pictured as a harpy tearing up the Constitution with her sharp talons, and Louis XVI as a horned pig, obese and stupid of countenance. But Louis XVI was not a pig, horned or otherwise; he was a good-natured, weak gentleman in a place that called for a leader of vision and strength; and Marie Antoinette was not a harpy, she was a fanatical imperialist who did not believe that the people had any rights or that rulers owed to them any duties, not even the duty of keeping faith with them.

With the period which followed the French Revolution there came a notable change in journalistic art. Idealism disappeared, and with it good will. The era was one of fierce combat, and the artists were fired by the popular passions and took part in the fierce campaigns. The artists' arrows flew thick and fast from the quivers of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Russia. Some of them were mere fun; but most of them were arguments, appeals, denunciations. Tragedy was not wanting, but comedy generally held the stage with every variety of ridicule, caricature, and travesty, some farcical, some grim, all inspired by an unmistakable spirit of moral earnestness. The artistic fecundity of this period is amazing. Mr. Broadley in his handsome volumes on "Napoleon in Caricature"[1] gives in an appendix 1,743 caricatures, from which he has made the selection for his very fully illustrated work. It is estimated that there are in existence nearly two thousand caricatures of Napoleon, and in pictures, prints, miniatures, medallions, and medals eighty thousand portraits.

The contrast in artistic conception and method of the different nationalities represented in Mr. Broadley's two volumes would be an interesting subject for study, but to enter upon it would extend this article beyond reasonable limits. And yet a certain uniformity of spirit animates them all; that which

[1] "Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution," by Ernest F. Henderson, Ph.D., L.H.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.

[1] "Napoleon in Caricature, 1795-1821," by A. M. Broadley, with an introductory essay on "Pictorial Satire as a Factor in Napoleon's History," by J. Holland Rose. In two volumes. The John Lane Company, 1911.

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inspires the Allies in the present war, that which is expressed by Wordsworth in the lines quoted by Mr. Rose in his Introduction:

"No parleying now! In Britain is one breath;
We are all with you now from shore to shore;—
Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death."

This war of the pencils accompanying the war of the guns was made more effective in both interpreting and inspiring the growing public sentiment against Napoleon than the average reader of the history of those times might imagine. Mr. Rose, who is himself no mean authority on the Napoleonic era, quotes, with his indorsement, the saying of a French author, M. Grand Coterel, that "the earlier efforts [of the English caricaturists] were so many battalions sent to the Continent, ever worrying Napoleon and raising the spirits of his enemies." As the war progressed there were exchanges of ideas between Russian and English caricaturists. "Several of Terebeneff's ideas were taken by Gillray or Cruikshank, while theirs lent variety to the output on the banks of the Neva and Moskwa. Working in unison, these artists did much to inspire the North Germans and Austrians to resist the Emperor of the West." Napoleon, who was a supreme egoist, appreciated the value to his enemies of this campaign of caricatures, forbade their publication in France, and endeavored by treaty to prevent their publication in other countries. "In 1807 he endeavored to introduce into the draft of the Treaty of Amiens a clause providing that persons who ventured to ridicule his person or policy should be treated as murderers or forgers and be liable to extradition." But he was not above endeavoring to use himself the instrument he desired to prohibit to others. Mr. Rose quotes a letter written by the Emperor to M. Fouché, Minister of Police, not only directing him to employ caricature in the press against the English, but even suggesting a possible caricature, a suggestion which was afterward carried into effect.

There is an important distinction between the cartoon and the caricature, though it is not always recognized by the artist.

The caricature is always intended to be humorous, and always depends for its humor, in part at least, on some exaggeration or travesty. The reader will observe that I say *intends* to be humorous. Our daily papers contain some grotesque travesties on life which both in art and in humor would do little credit to a child not yet out of the nursery. Charity requires one to suppose that these compositions are intended to be humorous; but this presumption requires stretching charity to its utmost limit.

The cartoon is not necessarily, not even generally, humorous. Its value lies in the ability of the artist to interpret a great truth pictorially in a limited space. One of the most famous cartoons in the history of art is Kaulbach's cartoon of the Reformation.

In the center, but the background, of the picture, stands Luther holding aloft an open Bible. Grouped about him in effe tive tableaux, with globe and telescope and book and lyre, are the great discoverers, inventors, authors, artists, and statesmen who have given the (then) present generation its impulses to quickened thought and spiritual life. Here are Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Wycliffe, Petrarch, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Bacon, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Columbus, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Coligny, William of Orange, Queen Elizabeth. No paragraph, scarcely a chapter, could so effectively portray the results of that intellectual and spiritual awakening which goes by the name of the Reformation as the artist has portrayed them by his pencil on a single canvas.

Analogous to this is a much smaller and simpler cartoon given in Broadley's "Napoleon in Caricature," "The Step-Ladder of Napoleon's Rise and Fall." On five steps, respectively labeled in German "Big Boy," "Military Scholar," "Soldier," "General," "First Consul," Napoleon ascends to his coronation as "Emperor of the French;" on three descending steps, representing respectively the flight from Spain, the flight from Russia, the expulsion from Germany, he descends to the edge of the last step, from which he is about to throw himself off to his death. Underneath in a cave by the sea he sits half covered with seaweed, while Father Time shears off from the map of the world the isle of Elba and presents it to him.

Sometimes the cartoon represents in a single figure the characteristics of a man or a nation. The artist, says Ruskin, is first of all a seeing and a feeling creature. The cartoonist sees and feels the true qualities of the person, the nation, or the race which he wishes to portray, and then combines them in a composite picture which interprets his sitter to the general public. An illustration of the debased use of the cartoon is furnished

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by the conventional Jew in the issues of "Life." Its cartoons of the Jew are always travesties, never a composite picture. On the other hand, "Punch's" "John Bull" admirably suggests the courage and caution, the persistence and obstinacy, the slow-mindedness and steadiness, the loyalty and solidity, of the Englishman. And "Uncle Sam" as Mr. Robert Carter, the cartoonist of the New York "Sun," portrays him, transformed from the older caricature, yet preserving its essential lineaments, suggests the commingled simplicity and shrewdness, energy and easy-going nature, sharpness and kindliness, which make up the contradictory character of the typical American.[1]

The cartoonist has often furnished in his portraitures a better impression of the public estimate in which a popular hero is held than can be obtained from any essay, however critical. The life of Theodore Roosevelt in cartoons[2] and caricatures—and there are many more caricatures than cartoons—leaves on the mind of the reader the impression of a public opinion enthusiastic as to Mr. Roosevelt's virtues and partial as to his faults. Probably the quality which in these caricatures is most emphasized is his indomitable energy, a quality which in America's estimate is generally esteemed a virtue. "Punch's" contrasted cartoons of Disraeli and Gladstone make a similar revelation of England's estimate of these two statesmen.[3] No historian, not even Mr. Bryce, has so effectively portrayed the agility in balancing of that shrewdest of politicians as did "Punch" in its famous caricature of Disraeli performing on the tight rope. More difficult, but equally admirable in conception and execution, are its cartoons of Mr. Gladstone, Puritan in temper, steadfast in purpose, always taking himself and everybody else seriously, and equally ready to instruct the public on any and every question, political, ecclesiastical, theological, or literary.

Finally, there is the cartoonist who uses his pencil as an instrument of a vivid imagination inspired by an indignant conscience. The cartoons of such an artist as Louis Raemaekers[1] are in art what an epigram is in literature. A glance at his pictures gives to the eye information which pages of print would fail to give, and produces a moral impression which the orator would despair of producing by his oration. It is not strange that Germany has put a price of twelve thousand marks upon the artist's head. No hospital can heal the wounds which his pencil has inflicted on Germany's reputation. No, I am wrong—which she has inflicted on her own reputation by the deeds which Raemaekers has so vividly portrayed and interpreted.

It seems to me, from such comparison as the works in my library have enabled me to make, that in artistic simplicity and moral power the best caricaturists and cartoonists of the twentieth century surpass those whose pencil did so much to interpret the French Revolution and the Napoleonic campaigns. In the whole collection of satiric art which I have had the opportunity to examine I have found nothing more impressive than a cartoon published, I believe, on the anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania. It consists of a perfectly simple gravestone, with one mourner bowing her head over it, and the following inscription engraved upon it:

In
Memory of
115 American Citizens
Men, Women
And Children
Murdered by a Nation
Too Savage to Spare
Abandoned by
A Country
Too Proud to Fight
May 7, 1915

[1] Admirable illustrations of individual cartoons, which might perhaps be better called character sketches, will be found in the "Life and Letters of Charles Samuel Keene," by George Somes Layard. The Macmillan Company, 1892.

[2] "A Cartoon History of Roosevelt's Career, Illustrated by 630 Contemporary Cartoons and Many Other Pictures," by Albert Shaw. The Review of Reviews Company.

[3] "Sir John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character from the Collection of Mr. Punch." Bradbury, Agnew & Co., London, 1887.

[1] Published serially in "Land and Water," complete in twenty-six fortnightly parts. See also article "John Raemaekers and His War Cartoons," by Lewis R. Freeman, in The Outlook, March 15, 1916, p. 626

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HOW THE NEWSPAPERS TELL THE STORY OF ELECTION DAY

BY ALEXANDER McD. STODDART

Is it Hughes or is it Wilson? What Senators, whose terms are about to expire, will go back to the Senate, or who will be their successors? What party wins the House of Representatives? Who wins the Governorship? What party will control the Legislature? Who are elected to city, town, and county offices?

The daily newspapers of the United States have for months been preparing to answer these questions on the date of this issue of The Outlook. This article, by an experienced newspaper man, tells how this task is accomplished.—THE EDITORS.

ELECTION night in a great newspaper office is the one night when every man undergoes a tremendous strain from the moment when the polls close and the first returns begin to dribble in until the last page of copy is sent to the composing-room.

Months in advance the newspapers make arrangements for the smooth running of the election machinery that shall be put to the test for one night when the telegraph and telephone services are practically given over to them for their use.

Practically all the newspapers, unofficially, get together in the collection of election returns. In addition, they have the assistance of the news associations, but no newspaper which justifies its name depends upon the work of the news associations entirely.

Still the news associations perform a great service, particularly in the city of New York, where the New York City News Association, with its elaborate machinery, collects the returns so rapidly that sometimes a few hours after the polls have closed the winners are known to the crowds at the bulletin boards in front of the newspaper offices.

The reporters who have traveled with the Presidential and other candidates from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian to the Mexican border, together with special correspondents, all of them, from their talks with leaders and observations made upon "the man in the street," come back on election day primed with information that is of much value on that particular night.

In addition there are the Washington correspondents, familiar with previous results of elections which have made Senators and Representatives; the State Capitol correspondents, familiar with both branches of the Legislature; and political reporters, familiar with local politics.

Weeks before the election newspapers all over the country are asked by others to give them proofs of their forecasts, and in this exchange, brought up to date week by week until the close of the final day of campaigning, these observations, gathered independently, prove of much value in foreshadowing the great event.

Every out-of-town correspondent practically knows in advance just exactly what his newspaper expects on the night of election, so that there is no delay in telling what to send. Months are given to this sort of preparation, and nothing is left undone when the men in the home office sit down at their desks to record the verdict at the polls.

On the night of a National election the news of the world must be told in one-half the space that is usually allotted to it. The men assigned to "boil down" the news of the world work also at high pressure, because they have so much additional work to do, their assistants being taken from them to work on returns.

The managing editor, whom Julian Ralph once referred as being in charge of seven-eighths of the newspaper, is at the head of the election staff, assisted by the city editor, whose work the late Andrew E. Watrous characterized in one line: "The man who writes twenty thousand words a day about his neighbors."

Following in importance are the news editor, who looks after the out-of-town correspondents, and the make-up man, who sees that each article has its proper place in the paper, and also that the presses start on time telling the world the result it is waiting for.

On the night of election every worker has alongside of his typewriter on his desk a supply of copy paper that is cut up from the big rolls of paper that are left on the cores after the press-room has gone as far as it dares on each roll of print paper. There are sharpened pencils, clean ink-wells with fresh ink, and new pens, paste, and mucilage,

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and the room looks as if a school examination were about to take place. What it looks like when election night is a thing of the past only the janitor knows. The floor is more convenient than scrap-baskets.

Each man is given the work he is most familiar with or that he is best adapted to do. Naturally the Washington correspondent and his assistant look after the Congress and Senate; the traveling correspondents are given the States they are particularly familiar with; the Capitol correspondent, the Legislature, and so on. Each is also responsible for the "lead," the introduction to the table that tells the story in a nutshell.

The story of what happened during the day is written and ready for the copy desk practically before the polls are closed, so that the reporters are ready for their night assignments—to cover the various headquarters, get statements from the prominent elected and defeated candidates, and anything else that may be of interest.

A clever reporter must be assigned to write the bulletins for the crowd outside the newspaper offices clamoring for news, and the art man must have any number of amusing pictures prepared to throw on the screen. Keeping up with the progress of the times, free outdoor moving pictures must be given to the crowds while waiting for the figures.

The simplest manner of making out certain tables is to print the name of each candidate, with his politics alongside, and eliminate those who are defeated, so that when closing time arrives the tables show merely the winners. This does away entirely with any new setting of type. The compositor merely removes the line or half-line not needed.

When the vote is to be recorded, the table is done in the same way, except that there is a blank left for the vote and the plurality. Then all that is needed is to set "straight copy."

In New York the police collect the election returns, which, because of their organization, simplifies the great problem of letting the result be known early. Practically all the New York newspapers are members of the New York City News Association, which "covers" routine news in all departments, and sends the facts without bias or color to its membership. Thus when election night comes these reporters are turned loose on election returns, and the machinery has been so arranged in advance that there is little or no friction.

Charts are prepared in advance showing every election district's vote last year or two years ago or four years ago, as it is needed. When one, two, or one hundred or two thousand election districts report their vote this election day, a glance at the chart shows what these districts previously gave.

Thus shortly after the polls close the story of the vote comes into the newspaper office over specially put in telegraphic wires as follows:

President—300 election districts, Greater New York, give Wilson, D., 21,842; Hughes, R., 16,466; same districts four years ago gave Wilson, D., 20,142; Roosevelt, P., 12,184; Taft, R., 5,678.

Governorship—42 election districts, Greater New York, give Seabury, D., 3,154; Whitman, R., 2,860; same districts two years ago gave Whitman, R., 2,190; Glynn, 2,990; Sulzer, Amer., 82.

The Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and like organizations, collecting the returns of the Nation, send in like bulletins reading somewhat similarly:

President—Albany County, sixteen districts missing, give Wilson, D., 16,825; Hughes, R., 23,892; same districts four years ago gave Wilson, D., 16,689; Roosevelt, P., 4,442; Taft, R, 19,987.

Governorship—Albany county, five election districts missing, give Whitman, R., 26,540; Seabury, D., 14,876; same districts two years ago gave Whitman, R., 25,600; Glynn, D., 13,765; Sulzer, Amer., 3,198.

These returns never cease coming in, minute by minute, hour by hour, until finally by midnight the election editors have a very good idea of the vote in every State of the Union.

These bulletins, prepared in advance, leaving blank spaces to be filled in by the actual figures, are placed in neat piles on the desk of the telegraph operator, so that when he receives the telegraphic sign for the President or the Governorship or whatever bulletin he is to write, he merely picks up the blank bulletin and in a few moments the bulletin is complete.

The idea back of these prepared bulletins is merely that they are time-savers.

When Chester S. Lord (affectionately called "Boss" Lord) was managing editor of the New York "Sun," in the other days, he devised a chart which the "Sun" used on election nights year after year. It saved time when time was of the greatest value.

The purpose of the chart was to give at a

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glance what the probable plurality would be when only a certain number of election districts reported and the balance were missing.

To make the chart required the finding of a key figure for a district according to the vote of the previous year or years. To get this key number any number of votes can be taken—500, 1,000, or 2,000—depending upon the accuracy desired for the forecast and the number of districts for any division in Greater New York, New York County, Brooklyn, or the State.

The whole idea of the chart is to do away with figuring and save perhaps ten minutes at a time when minutes are precious. To prepare the chart probably requires several days' labor, but if you can "beat" the other newspapers it is worth the great preparation that it costs.

As rapidly as the bulletins giving various results are written in by the operator and as fast as the results are typed by the electric machines on which the New York newspapers receive much of their Associated Press matter, office boys distribute them to the proper desks. Reporters and editors practically do one thing on that night; as, for instance, the electoral vote by States, the total popular vote for President by States, the vote for Governor by counties, Congressmen-elect of every State, the vote in detail for principal State officers, the vote for members of the Senate and Assembly, newly elected Governors; out of this analysis comes another story telling what the vote means, which each man writes as soon as he can do so.

Hundreds and hundreds of bulletins must be gone over and tabulated to make a brief table that may not occupy in actual space more than two or three inches in depth, or, as they say in a newspaper office, a stick or two.

Pictures of principal candidates are all ready for the form, so that the appearance of the paper will be brightened against the background of figures.

Usually half the paper is devoted to the election, and these pages naturally are held open to the last. The back pages, which contain other news and advertising, are made up as early as possible, and as the election pages are completed the whole attention is devoted to the first page, which naturally is the last to go to the stereotypers.

Upon that first page must go the most important election news, and usually it is so complete that if a person received nothing else but that first page it would tell him all that he wanted to know.

In fact, the headlines, usually run clear across the page, tell the whole story. It is a great art to write these headlines, particularly if they can run through all the editions without change.

When the first returns come in, every light in the editorial rooms is shedding its rays where most needed, the crowds outside are beginning their din with noise-making objects, the telegraph instruments are clicking, telephone bells are ringing, visitors crowd the reception-room, and here and there specially favored ones are permitted to come within, but every one is so busy that most of them are shooed off to where the art man and the reporter are working together to amuse the crowd outside.

Correspondents of foreign newspapers drop in to get the results to cable to their newspapers, reporters from other newspapers ask for the views of the paper, messenger boys bring in hundreds of telegrams that the office wires are too clogged up to receive, and the managing editor keeps a stenographer busy answering telegrams from correspondents, newspapers, candidates, politicians, and others who have his ear on that night.

"Am I elected?" asks a Congressman from Kentucky, where he cannot get the returns to tell him what he wants to know; and the managing editor will walk along until he comes to the editor handling the Kentucky returns.

"How about Jackson in the Fifth Kentucky District?" he asks.

"He'll win by about 400, I figure," says the editor, resuming his work.

And so Jackson, of Kentucky, learns his fate nine hundred miles away.

A reporter is assigned to answer telephone calls bearing on the result, and also to get interviews over the wire. An alert man is needed for this, because sometimes a gem of a story can be had over the wire.

When the hands of the clock have worked slowly toward the midnight hour, the feverish point is reached, for it is close to press time.

"Boys," says the managing editor, "we must have everything in this edition. We've got twenty minutes. Put a bit of steam on."

As the clock points close to composing-room time, the managing editor again admonishes the men. "Five minutes more," he says.

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The last sheets go up and the men, as they do at baseball games in the seventh inning, get up to stretch their legs. It has been a hard grind.

Coffee and sandwiches are brought in, and down below in the basement can be heard the presses groaning.

The office boys rush in with papers wet from the presses. Every man is given one or as many copies as he needs. They are glanced over with the quick, trained eye of editors and reporters who can read a page at a glance and catch blunders.

Later office boys bring in the other newspapers, also wet from the presses. Quick comparisons are made.

"Are you sure about the Legislature?" asks the managing editor, stopping at the desk of the legislative man.

"Yes," he replies.

"Look at that discrepancy," says the managing editor, and he places a rival newspaper on his desk.

The midnight luncheon consumed, the men, after gossiping about various results, return to their desks to revise the paper for the second edition, for the returns have not ceased coming in in the interim. The work is pushed forward; figures are increased or decreased according to the indications of the later figures.

The work of revision continues until it is time to go to press on the final edition.

"Fine work," says the managing editor, holding the latest edition in his hand, appreciation of good work beaming on his countenance. "Five minutes more on the city; hustle it and let's say good-night."

THE NOVEL AND A FEW NOVELS

SECOND NOTICE

THE English are putting a concentrated energy into the conduct of the war that leaves no national resource unused, but the novels from English hands show no falling off either in freshness or in vigor, no sense of weariness. Mr. Hewlett has written no story with a firmer hand, a more delightful ease, than "Love and Lucy," a brilliant comedy overflowing with high spirits; and Mr. Phillpotts, who has put a long row of stories on the shelf, carries into Kent the same joy in the English country, the same feeling for landscape, that have made Dartmoor as familiar to a host of Americans as the counties they were born in. After writing a shelf-full of novels, in an absorbing crisis Mr. Phillpotts writes of Kent and its people with vivid feeling in "The Green Alleys."[1] The title allures one into the hop-fields—the garden of England—and the growth of the vines which form the alleys is interwoven with human experiences with a skill that has lost nothing of its graphic power. In Mr. Hardy's stories the landscape is not a background, it counts with the *dramatis personæ;* in the "Return of the Native," for example, the moor plays almost as great a part as the chief character. Mr. Phillpotts, who recalls Mr. Hardy without imitating him, has a kindred gift of bringing nature as an active agent into his stories. But he is not a fatalist, like the author of "The Mayor of Casterbridge;" to him Devon and Dartmoor and Kent are subtle and penetrating influences; they are not blind forces determining human destiny.

The genius of Mr. Phillpotts is not an expression of an intense individuality; it is rather the genius of intimate knowledge of and deep feeling for the processes which deal with nature and take on the color of environment. In "Brunel's Tower," for instance, the shaping of pottery becomes a moral process; in "Old Delabole" the quarry is a school of character and the fall of the great cliff is an event in the ethical history of a community. It is also the genius which is compounded of close observation, real thinking, and a thoroughness of structure which is hidden by a rare beauty of description. In "The Three Brothers" the interest rested obviously on very striking contrasts of character; in "Green Alleys" two brothers are very skillfully drawn, but the story takes a broader sweep; the minor figures stand out with distinctness and the life of a rural

[1] The Green Alleys. By Eden Phillpotts. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

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community moves before the reader in strongly drawn lines of character.

We are still in England in Mr. Wells's latest novel, "Mr. Britling Sees It Through."[1] Mr. Britling is a well-to-do Englishman of an ardent, sentimental, explosive temperament, who lives in modern English fashion in Essex, a very English county. To quote Mr. Britling: "This country is a part of the real England—England outside London and outside manufactures. It's one with Wessex and Mercia or old Yorkshire—or, for the matter of that, with Meath and Lothian—and it's the essential England still."

Into this unchanged England comes Mr. Direck, visitor from America, and begins at once to modify his impressions. Mr. Britling is not in golfing tweeds; he is not reserved, "he sniffed at the heels of reality," he talked incessantly about all kinds of subjects; the square-looking old red brick house opens hospitably into a big, oak-paneled hall; luncheon is served out of doors with an absence of formality surprising to an American who did not know that, while the English on formal occasions are very conventional, they are most of the time the most informal and comfortable people in the world. Mr. Britling is in the "Who's Who" of two continents and is a writer of growing reputation; interesting men and women are continually coming and going about his home, and they all talk with astonishing vigor and frankness. It was July, 1914, and Ireland was on the verge of civil war, and the warlike designs of Germany, which Mr. Britling refused to take seriously, were becoming ominously credible. There is much talk about the general situation, and the differences of opinion are sharp and very vigorously expressed. Then the storm breaks and slowly becomes more furious. Mr. Britling is swept from his moorings. England has been safe for a thousand years, it has become the symbol of security; there is no fear—as the Germans have learned, fear is not a British emotion—but there is bewilderment and confusion of mind and action.

The story is a wonderfully graphic description of the awakening of the British mind to the reality of the war, to its unprecedented magnitude, and to its horrors. Mr. Wells's phenomenal energy of mind, evidenced by the rush of productiveness, rises to flood tide in this extraordinary book. As a record of the psychology of a nation in the supreme crisis of its history it stands alone in the literature of the world. It is a colossal tragedy told abruptly, unconventionally, with a kind of searching vividness, with a steadily deepening grip on the attention and the emotions. Mr. Britling responds to the demands of the great crisis; his thought becomes more serious, his sense of duty more acute and dominating.

Mr. Wells has been fertile, ingenious, aggressive, but his stories have moved on a materialistic plane; in this novel the anguish of personal loss, the sense of the fragility of hopes built on any kind of possessions, the consciousness of the deeps below deeps that open beneath the most solidly based prosperity, put behind the story a background of a kind with which Mr. Wells's readers have not been familiar. The reaction of the colossal struggle on character is reported as it has been reported in no other book, in heart-breaking detail and in wide perspective; and at the end a path opens through the mist to a future escape from the horror and futility of hatred. The narrative runs through a sea of talk which is often brilliant, witty, epigrammatic, and always interesting; reflecting the myriad aspects of the great tragedy and its effect on character.

Sir Gilbert Parker's "The World For Sale,"[1] written before the war, takes the reader back to the days when it was necessary to invent plots in order to create dramatic interest; since August 1, 1914, the daily journals have been printing a serial story that makes the old tales of adventure seem pallid and commonplace.

Gilbert Parker writes about the Northwest with the graphic skill which is born of first-hand knowledge and vital sympathy. His latest story has a vigorously drawn background and is full of adventurous incident; it "begins with a rush and ends with a bang," to quote a publisher's announcement. A brilliant hero who has the qualities of an empire-maker, a girl as daring and beautiful besides, a frontier villain, an Indian chief, the head of the gypsies of the world, the rivalry of two ambitious towns, are the elements which Gilbert Parker mingles in an old-fashioned romance. The interest does not flag, but the story is artificial, and much below the standard of the author of "Pierre and His People."

In a wholly different vein, Miss Margaret Sherwood's "The Worn Doorstep" has the

[1] Mr. Britling Sees It Through. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

[1] The World for Sale. By Gilbert Parker. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.35.

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charm of sincerity, of deep feeling, and of a tender and beautiful skill.[1] It does not pretend to be a novel, but it has the interest of an experience which is essentially tragic. An American girl loses her English lover "somewhere in France" and takes her sorrow to an old cottage in a little English hamlet and opens her door to refugees, in whose care her grief loses its bitterness. The remaking of the little house, the garden, the country round about, the rustic neighbors and the servants, invest the quiet narrative with human interest, while behind it the appalling drama of war is quietly but vividly brought on the stage as its immediate victims come and go. "The Worn Doorstep" is a work of art by a writer whose sensitive conscience is matched by her skill.

FROM SUBSCRIBERS

EVEN before the whole edition of last week's issue of The Outlook, containing the "Open Letter" which announced the advance in price from three dollars to four dollars, and at the same time told of the new form in which The Outlook will appear on the 3d of January, was in the mails, we received, in answer to our personal communications to our subscribers, the two letters which follow. That we have not received one word of protest at the advance in price is as gratifying as is the promptness with which these two expressions of opinion have come to us from subscribers who had, when they wrote, no knowledge of the prospective improvements in the form and dress of this journal:

The charge, four dollars, for the coming year will not in the least degree militate against my renewing my subscription for The Outlook.

On the contrary, I have always wondered why you charged so little for it, while you gave so much in return. Four dollars is not too much, whether paper is scarce or abundant.

St. Paul, Minnesota. C. W. L.

I can readily understand why you are compelled to advance your price on account of the material that goes into the magazine, and you certainly are entitled to advance on that account.

I would not be without The Outlook if it cost twice the amount. Your articles, boiled down without any superfluous opinions, have earned the right to be considered authority, and your fair statements on all questions appeal to all thinking readers of your magazine. L. B. B.

Hillsboro, Ohio.

Our readers, we think, will also be interested in reading the following letter which has come to us from a subscriber of German ancestry, and which, it is needless to say, we greatly prize:

It is a pleasure to inclose check for the renewal of my subscription.

You need only look at my name to believe that my ancestry is almost entirely German. My father was born in the so-called "Vaterland." There was a time when many of your articles upon the war and kindred topics aroused my opposition considerably. But such incidents as the case of the Lusitania have completely changed my attitude toward the war. It seems to me that on occasions certain articles in your pages were too passionate, but I can hardly blame you for that, because The Outlook does not champion any cause without an honest conviction that it is right. You are right in saying that one cannot be neutral in regard to this war. I have long since become pro-Ally, thereby incurring the surprise and opposition of many friends and relatives also of German descent. The invasion of Belgium was a grave crime. I believe with you that the Allies are fighting the cause of democracy against a dangerous military autocracy. Because I take a certain pride in them, I admire your unbiased appreciation of the invaluable contributions by which the German race has enriched humanity. But to force their "Kultur" upon the world by the sword is to make it at once a curse. I do not believe that a man is necessarily much better or more industrious or more honest because he happens to belong to a certain race, and am fairly disgusted with such invidious comparisons.

Your insistence upon the elimination of the "hyphen" is most praiseworthy. Ex-President Roosevelt's speech at our City Club last May upon the subject of "Americanism" thrilled me with enthusiasm both for the man and for his theme, though it made many foes for him in St. Louis. My fellow-citizens of German descent have a perfect right to sympathize with Germany's cause if they wish, but when it comes to issues between our own country and Germany there can be no question which side is entitled to their support. I *hope* you are right in saying that most of these citizens are loyal.

E. C. L.

St. Louis, Missouri.

[1] The Worn Doorstep. By Margaret Sherwood. Little, Brown, & Co., Boston. $1.25.

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BY THE WAY

In 1883 the total production of aluminum in the United States was eighty-three pounds; in 1914 the output amounted to eighty million pounds; this year a production exceeding two hundred million pounds is predicted. The greatest use for aluminum is probably in the manufacture of kitchen ware, but it is being more and more used in making jewelry, fancy articles, machine bearings, automobile parts, etc., and is supplanting copper in many industries on account of the excessive cost of that metal.

Animals are often supposed to be restrained by "instinct" from eating food that would be harmful to them. The Department of Agriculture finds, however, that many cattle in the West are poisoned by eating larkspur. Sheep are immune, and horses rarely eat enough of the plant to produce any ill effects. Where the plant is abundant it is recommended that the ranges be used for sheep instead of cattle, or that the areas infested by larkspur be first eaten down by sheep.

The new battle-ships authorized for the coming year will be named Colorado, Maryland, Washington, and West Virginia. The twenty destroyers to be built under the programme will be named after distinguished naval officers. The four battle-cruisers to be laid down next year will probably be named after historic ships of the United States navy.

In "Sixty Years of the Theater," by John Ranken Towse, this story is told of two famous actors, E. A. Sothern and Edwin Booth, in illustration of their self-confessed limitations. Sothern told Booth that he had once believed that he was possessed of tragic genius and had acted the part of Claude Melnotte. "My performance," Sothern said, "was thus characterized by a caustic critic: 'It exhibited all the qualities of a poker except its occasional warmth.' It was, I suppose, about as bad as anything ever seen upon the stage." Booth chuckled quietly for a minute and then, with a quizzical smile, simply remarked, "You never saw my Romeo, did you?"

The book of automobile jokes will be a big one when it is completed; here are two applicants for entry, selected from exchanges: "Prospective Buyer, walking into garage—'I would like to see a good second-hand car.' Proprietor of Garage—'So would I.'"—"I never see you take your wife out in the auto." "My boy, I have all I can do to manage one at a time." This latter sarcasm probably dates from early times; the increasing number of women owners and operators of cars makes it of merely historic interest.

The callousness of some shoppers is illustrated by a story in "Everybody's." Two women, one of them carrying a baby, asked a salesman to show them some carpets. It was a hot day, but the salesman cheerfully showed roll after roll, until perspiration streamed from his face. Finally one of the women asked the other if it wasn't time to go. "Not quite," was the answer, with a whispered explanation—"Baby likes to see him roll them out, and we've plenty of time to catch the train."

An entertaining defense of Captain Kidd appears in "Commerce and Finance," apropos of the demolition of an old New York house supposed to occupy the site of his homestead. Captain Kidd's trial, it is stated, was a farce, he himself was what is termed to-day a "goat," and his total loot brought to America amounted to only $75,000. This last statement is the severest blow of all, destroying as it does the glamour of the old ballad about Captain Kidd:

> "I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed, as I sailed,
> I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed;
> I'd dollars manifold, and riches uncontrolled,
> And by these I lost my soul, as I sailed."

Soldiers of the same age, fighting side by side, a Frenchwoman says in her "Notes on the War," may be of very different social classes, but often become the closest friends. She tells this story in illustration of the fact: A very merry young soldier entertained his companions in the "dugout" most delightfully by his irrepressible joviality. One day his spirits failed. Asked the reason by one of his mates, he said: "In ordinary life I am a clown in a music hall. It's my business to make people laugh. But to-day I got a letter from my wife telling of the illness of our two children. She can't go out to work, and things look black. That's why I don't joke to-day." A few days later the same inquirer said, "Comrade, you're merry again. What's happened?" "Why, a letter from my Louise says a man called and handed her three hundred-franc notes from his client, M. Jean Breton; so things are bright again for us. But who can M. Breton be?" The other man was silent, but finally spoke: "Don't worry, *copain*. I am Jean Breton. I'm rich enough to afford it. Now sing us one of your comic songs, please!"

The oldest "active" printer in the country is said to be Mr. Thomas Emerson Ash, of Germantown, New York. He began his career on the Newport "Rhode Islander" one year before the Mexican War, worked on the New York "Tribune" when Horace Greeley was its editor, and now at the age of ninety is still operating his printing plant and working at the case daily. This paragraph would be incomplete if it did not contain the statement that Mr. Ash is reported never to have tasted liquor nor used tobacco.

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